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THE SITUATION IN IRELAND: THE LANDLORDS AND THE CATTLE DRIVERS.

IF PARTIES in England could even for a short time rise to the conception of a generous and just policy towards Ireland, an era of stability to the empire would be opened. The first step for such a policy would be, to use Mr. Gladstone's dictum, to act on the idea that the Irish people are not born with a double dose of original sin. Enjoying in some respects the law of England and in theory entitled to the benefits of the constitution, they are practically regarded as outlaws in a state of refractory submission. Language, which if spoken in England or Scotland would very properly be judged as criticisms on public affairs within the rights of freemen, is treated as sedition. Public meetings, unless when held on the part of a small minority, are stamped with the impress of illegality by the attendance of masses of policemen armed like soldiers in the presence of the enemy. Official reporters selected from the police are stationed on the platforms. Collisions between the people and the police have repeatedly taken place, and under circumstances to justify the belief that the police not alone broke the peace, but had been instructed to break the peace. On one occasion the police were resisted so successfully that they fled for refuge to their barracks, and in vindictive panic fired so recklessly that boys in no way connected with the meeting and, of course, at a distance from it were shot dead. In consequence, Mr. Gladstone gave as a watchword and a party cry to the workingmen of England,

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the Democracy of England: "Remember Mitchelstown!" It was one experiment in the exercise of "resolute government" to be lamented by every man who has a reverence for ordered liberty. It brought with it a retribution as remarkable as unexpected. The government, which had taken as the preamble of its policy that no redress for grievances should be entertained until every vestige of dissatisfaction had disappeared, embarked on a course of redress while filling prisons with editors, members of Parliament, public speakers. A land act was passed, a county council's act was passed, additional land acts were passed and the people were charged with ingratitude because they had not received the concessions with transports of thankfulness and adulation.

When the late government was in power the policy of repression was suddenly abandoned. A profound tranquillity was discovered to have settled on Ireland from the centre to the sea. The country was crimeless. Judges of assize congratulated grand juries on the new millennium, county court judges echoed them, the police handed in reports of rose color; Mr. Wyndham had in hand all the stage accessories for the melodrama of the land purchase bill. It became an act of Parliament amid reciprocal plaudits from hostile elements in the House of Commons. There was comedy in the piece with latent tragic possibilities; the comedy has died out, the possibilities have become the reality.

Irish landlords found themselves enriched if land purchase should go on. The first vendors parted with their tenants' holdings under conditions which must have made company promoters sick with envy. The cosmopolitan plutocrats of South Africa must have thought that diamond mines were as rayless carbon in comparison with reclaimed bog in Ireland. The philosopher's stone in the dream of an alchemist was a fettered agent by the side of Mr. Wyndham's purchase act. It was a spell above all antecedent magic; it was an incantation that made Plutus, the gnomes, the spirits of the mines the slaves of the Irish landlord. Money fell upon his demesnes, and his home farms and his pasture lands from the air, was wafted to him over the waters, ascended to him from the caverns of the earth. Commerce made its exchanges for him, factories wrought for him, all the industries, all the resources of civilization were at his service. To pay his encumbrances the Chancellor of the Exchequer framed his budget; to give him back his demesnes his home farms and his pasture lands, the operative in the mill, the laborer in the field paid tithes and annates from his wages. Fortunate Irish landlord! The impossible was accomplished for him; he spent his money and he had it. The tenant purchaser, however poor, had a property in his holding, wherefore the phrase "dual ownership."

He transferred this to his landlord on the purchase as a free gift, and he accompanied the gift by a price for the landlord's interest, which paid the landlord's instalments on the demesnes, the home farms and the pasture farms. The truth is that the history of the land purchase act as we have it now is one of the most discreditable episodes in the relations of the Tory party to Ireland. We must divest our minds, in looking at what is called the present unrest in that country, of impressions produced by correspondents in Ireland of the English newspapers and the declarations at Primrose habitations and on public platforms made on the authority of mere hirelings from Ireland or by Irish people so insensate that they take their alarms and their prejudices for demonstrated incidents. The purchase act was passed to repair the ruined fortunes of the men who had been always the curse of Ireland and the difficulty of England—to repair their fortunes because their interests were identified with those of English landlords and the Church Establishment. It was an easy thing to say, and the statement was taken for proof, that the landlords and their hangers-on, like the Orangemen, were the objects of hatred as well as of fear, simply because they were devoted to England. There was a condition in the treaty out of which the purchase act was to issue that the "slums" of agriculture on the fringes of the great pasture reaches would be acquired by the Purchase Commissioners for the purpose of improvement, to which would be added a few acres of the pasture land, the whole farm, thus improved and enlarged, then placed in the tenant's hands in fee simple, subject to annual instalments, which were to pay in the course of sixty-eight years and a half principal and interest on the purchase money, the expenditure on improvements and other adjuncts of outlay. In his speech introducing the measure Mr. Wyndham disclosed to an attentive house this part of its policy in ample detail, coupled with a philosophic candor which seems to have enraptured some cultivated Devolutionists and some intellectual tenants' representatives. He spoke of the holdings to which we refer as of no earthly value to the occupiers; the term he employed was "uneconomic;" he proposed by his method that they would become possessions in which the owner and his family could live and thrive and acquire that degree of social elevation without which morality and self-respect are impossible. Pursuing his philosophic vein, he discussed with scientific precision the characteristics of communities which had continued from ancient times—fossils of strange social structures, as one might understand him, which, to use his own words, "had become rotten and rigid." The holdings had become curiously intermingled, that is to say, they were possessed in rundale; in other words, five parts of Lacy's holdings and

Brown's were scattered through the other holdings, and in like manner each of the other tenants possessed a bit about Brown's house and Lacy's house and a bit in the other holdings. There was nothing very recondite about this; it came from the manner of using the common land of the township among the Teutonic nations, or the part of the tribe land of the Celtic races conditionally vested in the poorer members for tillage and limited grazing. It was intended that the Commissioners should on acquiring estates let in rundale consolidate into one holding the farm to be obtained by each tenant purchaser, drained and fenced and defined by carefully ascertained boundaries, and on the adjustment of interests finally compensation would be awarded out of the grazing lands to be acquired when it appeared that some tenant had sustained a loss by the resettlement.[1]

This scheme was statesmanlike and convincing. Pleasant prospects were opened to the members of "the rigid and rotten communities." They were to be in the forefront of the centuries instead of living as serfs lived under Chilperic, or on the banks of the Elbe in the sixth century, or as the Saxons when forming settlements or tithings in the South and East as they pushed the Britons westward, or as Irish laborers lived under some Cromwellian squire in the seventeenth century—the squire a fierce and grasping and businesslike man who thought the perpetuation of a system of commonage was a guarantee for reciprocal antipathies among his dependents. At any rate uneconomic holdings all over Ireland were to be made economic by the distribution of the pasture lands; the untenanted lands first as far as they would go round,[2] and then the grass farms in the hands of graziers or in the owners' own hands. It is hard to say Mr. Wyndham was only pronouncing a socio-economic essay in the House of Commons. There was statesmanship in every detail of the conception, and the sum he asked for (£100,000,000) to effect it as between tenants and landlords the House granted with good will, particularly on the Liberal side, under the leadership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and voted £12,000,000 as an inducement to the landlords to sell what at the very moment was *damnosa hereditas*. Not one shred, one particle of this promise has been redeemed. Disappointed men, looking over the walls and high banks skirting the road at the broad stretches of pasture spreading to right and left and extending to the horizon, then turning to look at the sour land, the reclaimed bog

[1] Roads were to be made or old roads improved in these regions and charged to the occupiers, unless we mistake. In such cases the existing roads were made and maintained by the occupiers.

[2] We employ the right honorable gentleman's own words. The untenanted lands were the grazing lands merely let on hiring, as it were. Legally, they were only the same as agistment.

going back to heather, the poor patch of oats, the poor patch of potatoes, looking up the face of the inaccessible mountain, where, under the eagles' wing and the wild falcons, their ancestors built homes and made land amid the savage rocks—disappointed men, we say, may have thought that the huge bullocks and heifers were occupying the place in which they themselves should be rearing families, earning taxes, even extra police rates, and at least living in thankfulness to God and friendliness to man.

"Ajax in his madness," wrote Swift as with a cry of pain, "regarded a flock of sheep as his enemies. We shall not be sane until, like Ajax, we look upon the sheep as our enemies." The fierce agony, the *saeva indignatio* of Swift was burning in the hearts of men whose expectations had been raised to the highest pitch by Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Balfour and their Cabinet and then killed with a cynical indifference which could not be outdone by an Italian statesman of the fifteenth century. This Chief Secretary, this Prime Minister, this Cabinet had secured fortunes for their friends, their allies, their flatterers, their bravoes, their spies, their hirelings of defamation paid to traduce their own countrymen. For two centuries and a quarter the landlords of Ireland have stood out in the civilization of Europe as a monstrous anachronism. One of them in the eighteenth century, Gardiner Lord Mountjoy, declared in the Irish Parliament that he had been all over Europe; nowhere had he found, outside of Turkey, men so bigoted, so tyrannical, so unjust as his countrymen, the very class he was addressing.

The cattle drivers, from the very nature of the thing, violated the law. They were guilty of trespass *vi et armis,* but in driving the cattle out of the farms they appear to have taken time, to have done no injury to the animals. In some instances they drove them along the highroads for some miles; in some instances only a short distance. The Attorney General did one part of his duty (he prosecuted them), but he neglected another part of his duty. He should have asked of the House of Commons liberty to frame articles of impeachment against the late Ministry, and particularly Mr. Wyndham. We say this seriously and not as a rhetorical flourish. When we consider that cattle driving is only a phase, and a rather feeble one, appearing in the wheel of Irish revolutionary passion from 1692 to the present hour, only a paltry incident in a war which has surpassed all wars of Central and Western Europe in havoc and duration, and that the politicians we name seem deliberately to have taken a course to prolong the war, we insist that the dignity of Parliament demanded satisfaction from the Ministers who dishonored and degraded it. No article in the impeachment of Strafford would show greater contempt for the authority and dignity of Parliament

than the whole conduct of the bill through the House by Mr. Wyndham.[3]

Why should these peasants, deceived, cajoled and then driven to despair, be punished and Mr. Wyndham allowed to congratulate his noble relative, the Duke of Leinster, on walking off out of his tenants' farms with £2,000,000 while retaining his mansion, his magnificent demesne, his girdle of home farms? It is a fair question: Which has contrived to rob the British taxpayers to the purpose, the cattle drivers in the misery of "a congested district,"[4] or the Minister who obtained £100,000,000 to divide among the bankrupt owners of an intangible interest and £12,000,000 in largesse to coax them into being enriched?

We thoroughly recognize that a strange change has come over the spirit of the people of England, the leaders in the cause of liberty and justice, and the relations of both to the legislature when we think of the condonation of one great crime. An immense sum has been wasted in South Africa amid the acclamations of all except a few, merely to change a government of Dutchmen into a government of Dutchmen and men from the United Kingdom. At least this is the practical result. If there be more Dutchmen than others in the administration of the Transvaal and Natal, the British Outlanders from Jewry and Germany, from France and Italy, Russia and the United States are hardly very different in status from what they had been when Kruger and his Ministers ruled with Deutoronomy as their code and the diamond mines as the means of enforcing it. We do not mean that Mr. Chamberlain should be impeached; we are only speaking of an extravagance parallel to the enrichment of Irish landlords. We are not saying he should be impeached for urging this war, in which forty thousand lives were lost. We cannot understand his ignorance concerning the situation there, unless that the renegade always makes the mistake of being carried by his zeal beyond honest and convinced prejudice or judgment; but it may have been honest ignorance. But this is what we require to know: Why was Mr. Balfour at that time allowed to break up public meetings of Liberals as though they were Irish Home Rulers listening to Mr. Dillon speaking on the land question? And why, having done this and been swept away at the general election, he is so secure in himself, confident in his resources from the

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[3] We say that the faction of Irish Orangemen and their abettors in the Government conspired to deceive the House of Commons and defraud the Treasury. The extreme Irish Unionists are as irreconciliable as Orangemen.

[4] The new legal and parliamentary phrase for those regions in Ireland where tenants pay rent for holdings made out of the bogs into which their ancestors were driven when the good lands were about to be converted into sheep-walks.

wealth of English landlords, and the wealth of the Established Church and the wealth of the plutocrats of Mayfair, with their greasy accent and their extraordinary verbal transmutations, that he can turn the House of Commons into a theatre of an academical riot on the education question and convert Primrose habitations into platforms for inciting to civil war in Ireland? It seems as though no sense of responsibility is to be found in him or his supporters.

We must repeat that we regret the cattle driving. We regret it on the ground of its being a breach of the peace, a trespass wilfully committed and an unwarrantable interference with other men's chattels; but this proceeding was only intended as a protest against the terrible policy which from the time of the transplantation to Connaught, the West Indies and the colonies of North America under the Protector and his son, Henry, desolated the best parts of Ireland and is still emptying parts of Ireland of inhabitants despite of statutory tenant right, statutory peasant proprietorship, statutory payment of English encumbrances of Irish property,[5] statutory grants of demesnes, home farms, pasture land to Irish landlords.

However, the latest accounts say (we are writing in the last week of March) that for the present cattle driving is at an end. If so, why should extra police be kept in the six proclaimed counties? The season has been a bad one, and the charge for extra police and possibly for malicious injuries like Lord Ashton's case and Dove's case will lead to a condition of stress such as was felt in the later seventies. At that time self-respect had been so annihilated that families took outdoor relief, that families allowed some of their children to be taken provisionally into the workhouses under the pretense of illness. Rate payers valued above the £4 line—the line at which they are liable to rates—were actually paying for the support of others, when they had hardly a meal of the poorest kind themselves. It was a time when assisted emigration was flourishing and government employes were at the same time the agents of private committees and quasi commissioners, occasionally visiting from England or sending their instructions from England. It is not too late, we hope, to prevent a repetition of this impudent and ruthless farce of English benevolence into the hands of Connaught landlords and landlords in the parts of Ulster bordering on Connaught. At the time we speak of there was an English gentleman named Duke who had an office in London and agents all over the west of Ireland, and the idea was held out to the clergy that the

[5] We might ask whether this fact had anything to do with the genesis and the growth of this Purchase Act. The Tory war chest was filled with the prices of titles. The fact is notorious. The English mortgages of Irish estates could give a nice commission to a parliamentary agent of Cabinet rank for securing payment of their speculative securities.

government was supplying part of the funds to enable the people ejected from their holdings, or those in abject destitution, to reach the United States. It was checked by the municipal authorities in New York.[6]

The entire subject of Ireland, whether in the social or political aspect—indeed, they closely run into each other—is painful to the degree of inducing physical illness or working as the thought of it worked in the heart of Swift and almost turned to gall the sweetness of Berkeley's nature. It stirred to indignant scorn Englishman after Englishman who visited the country, say, from Arthur Young, about 1770, to Sir Redvers Buller, a sort of military dictator in Munster when the Land League was fighting for the existence of the people. The Land League boycotted the man whom the ruin of bad harvests would not cause to abate a few shillings in his rent; boycotted the workman, the agricultural laborer who had no bowels of compassion for their fellows starving while waiting for the Sheriff, the crowbar brigade, the incendiary torch, while waiting for that excommunicated of the honest poor—the emergency man—transformed from the status of the thief, the drunkard, the unconvicted assassin into an upholder of property and law, transformed into a vindicator of the morality of paying impossible rent, transformed into the representative of peace when war was demanded by the right to live, imperiously called for by necessity itself. In this way the Land League was fighting a despotic government without one particle of the ability which sometimes makes tyranny respectable and a truculent faction of wild Orangemen behind it, fighting with the only weapon which nature leaves to unarmed men—the inactivity and gloom of non-intercourse.

Another subject to be borne in mind in considering the falsification of Mr. Wyndham's promises was the restoration of the evicted tenants. We venture to say that the Dunraven treaty would never have been concluded between that gentleman, with his fellow-landlords representing their class at the conference and Mr. Redmond and some of his Parliamentary colleagues representing the tenants, unless this article were agreed to. There is a very remarkable enthusiasm among the Irish people about martyrs for their cause. It does not always follow that they think the martyrs were wise, or that the course taken by them was altogether the one sensible men would recommend in the particular crisis. To neglect those, however, who had submitted to the loss of all they possessed—well circumstanced farms, together with considerable interest in them of solvent tenants—would be a baseness of which no people could be

[6] At an earlier time the agent of Lord Enniskillen's estates won the name of "Emigration Smith" in Enniskillen.

guilty, least of all the Irish people. We are prepared to hear that the proposal to restore the evicted tenants was by no means a welcome one to some landlords as they sat at the Round Table. We have it on information that a settlement would have been arrived at long before the conference if the evicted tenants were thrown to the wolves. We think that the land act of Mr. Balfour, pledging the State to advance £40,000,000 for the purchase of holdings, coupled with an improved administration of the rent fixing clauses of the act of 1881 and the appointment of men not prejudiced against the policy of the act, would have virtually closed the land question as an ulcer of peculiar malignity between the two classes concerned. We think it is important to consider this matter with some attention in order to bestow blame or praise as either may be deserved.

The first thing we say is that the whole Tory party—not the wretched crowd of Irish squireens merely, but the great Irish proprietors who were owners of estates in England or Scotland, or, if not, had such large estates as made them in Ireland big squires like their friends and allies in England—all hated the act of 1881 as the degradation of their class. The mob of squireens, of course, hated the act just mentioned as they hated anything that loosened their hold on the courage and conscience of the masses. They hated the act of 1870, an act generally, if not universally, approved of by the great landlords. They attacked it with virulence and persistence in the county courts, and they hunted down their tenants by appeals whenever a point of law might be urged against them. The tenant was always under ejectment[7] and fighting for a losing cause. It was a case of the longer purse added to the advantages with which the landlord started. So the petty squabbles during the two or three years that followed the passing of that act forced upon the impoverished and overrented tenants lawsuits as numerous, and which for a time were as important to lawyers as the big cases in the railway reports for five times as many years, though these are a library in themselves. As for the act of 1881, it was spoken of as confiscation. It was said that the tenant was planted on his holding in such a way that the landlord was converted into a mere rent charger. The tenants' interest was described as a lease for fifteen years, with a condition somewhat like a *toties quoties* covenant for renewal every fifteen years forever. In an article in the *North American Review* some years ago (we have not the number at hand) Mr. John Morley, as an ex-Chief Secretary, wrote authoritatively on the Irish land question, at least so the editor assumed. At any rate, Mr. Morley

[7] This act gave no fixity of tenure: it entitled the tenants to compensation for improvements under restrictions and for disturbance on a scale diminishing proportionately with the increase of the valuation—a case of inverse ratio.

expressed his legal conclusions in a very oracular manner, possibly in consultation with some English barrister who knew as much about the complications of the law of letting land in Ireland as Mr. Arthur Balfour's familiar, the man in the street. Mr. Morley, who in certain limits is an accomplished and well informed man, is very far from knowing everything. He wrote somewhat like the following and very much as Sir Oracle would if his pen were a good *"Socratic daemon,"* able to spell correctly: "Until 1860 the relation of landlord and tenant was one of tenure; then it became one of contract. In 1870, owing to the hardships arising out of the new relation, it was again made a relation of tenure; it is now under the act of 1881 one of dual ownership." So Mr. Morley. Englishmen one admits are very superior persons. They know more about Ireland than Irishmen; understand their needs better than these can understand them, but Mr. Morley in his summary of the contents of a law library and a library of legal relations shrouded in remote origins and affected by the subsequent changes in social aspects during the eight hundred years from the Norman Conquest until his own time was rather less than accurate. Moreover, he vastly overrated the legal significance of the act of 1881.[8] It was a noble conception of land reform at the same time that it was no wild departure from old-time usages, did no violence to familiar modes of thought, had respect for the traditional sense of the social hierarchy. It may be that the complex character of the measure, its harnessing of so many conflicting elements revolted minds like Mr. Parnell's and his lieutenants, or that a certain narrowness and lack of knowledge prevented them from seeing the resultant issuing from the harnessing of the various contending forces. At any rate, the marvelous display of the highest statesmanship was never allowed a chance of proving itself the reconciliation of hostile ideas and influences.

Mr. Parnell attacked it, and the people followed him with a disorderly devotion which showed something akin to the imbecility of Oriental or feminine hero worship. There was to be a selection of cases called test cases, along which the landlords were to be fought under the new act. Why, every case was a test case—that is to say, the substantial legal incidents were the same and the language to express them identical. The only difference in the result, we take it, would arise from the personnel of the various sub-commissions.[9] Ulstermen would give the tenants a sympathetic hearing; the assist-

[8] The legal status of the tenant was that of a tenant from year to year, and not that of a partner with the landlord. When this "fair" rent was fixed, he was a tenant from year to year, protected by fixity of tenure, but under statutory conditions.

[9] This was the name given to leases of church lands for terms of years, renewal forever. The lawyers who devised this method of robbing the church without breaking the law against alienation were clever fellows.

ant commissioners from the south of the Boyne were landlords' nominees, and certainly, whether as legal assistant commissioners or lay assistant commissioners, these gentlemen were not exceptionally fitted for office by their prejudices. Now, it was absurd for Mr. Parnell and his lieutenants to suppose that they could have selected the cases to be tried. We know how originating notices fell on the land commissioners like snowflakes. We remember a certain day in November, 1881, that the whole resources of the head commissioners were employed in recording such notices. Barristers were impressed into the service—we mean courteous gentlemen who happened to be in the court at Merion street on certain legal motions—men asked to help as honorary registrars, and they did so; and all worked, worked with a will up to twelve o'clock at night when the last day to obtain a particular advantage closed upon the tenants. There were on that day twelve thousand notices recorded; and the sympathy of the host of gratuitous workers with the tenant, their desire that he should have the chance of the special benefit the new act conferred with regard to the effect of lodging his originating notice before a certain day, afforded evidence of a beautiful disposition, the credit for which has never been given any more than the gratuitous character of the work done and the sacrifice of an entire day in performing it has been acknowledged either by tenants, patriots or politicians or those whose own good works are not hidden from the admiring world.

Anything more infatuated than the idea, under all the circumstances, of selecting what were to be called test cases cannot be conceived. It was an ill-considered piece of adventurous defiance that could only end in antagonism between the two peoples of Ireland and England, and when it was rather late in the day the tenants discovered their mistake in not promptly and frankly seeking the advantages bestowed by the act. Ulster had done so and Ulster's rents were being reduced, while the other provinces were beginning to fear that their leaders had blundered.[10]

As we say, a great deal of injustice was done in estimating the inestimable evolutionary impetus of Mr. Gladstone's great act. As we say, Mr. Morley did not grasp the effect on the rent fixing

[10] It is right to say that Mr. Parnell recognized that there would be a long, long delay in dealing with the cases, owing to the machinery. His idea was that certain cases should be selected which would serve as standards on which the other cases should be ruled. He overlooked two things: First, a court has no power without consent to rule B's case by A's, except in a matter of law. Even then the facts must be heard to apply the law to the case. The second matter overlooked was that all the landlords, the great squires of tens of thousands of acres, as well as the petty gentlemen, who drank, gambled and swore like their grandfathers, were determined to smash the act. A series of bad seasons gave them the opportunity and power.

clauses of possible conditions—nay, actual conditions of antagonism. Then his idea of the legal status conferred upon the tenant was a mistake. To understand the legal status one should be a lawyer; but he should be more than that; he should have to ascertain the law that grew out of the transplantation of the feudal system from Normandy to England and the reaction thereon of the Anglo-Saxon customs and laws so far as the latter were intelligible under the formula of the "laws of St. Edward the Confessor." That this is immediately to the point may be seen from the fact that the Conqueror always deferred to the authority of Edward the Confessor and his time as exponents of rights to be maintained by the Conquest. In a moment of anger, when he had to proceed hastily to the West to suppress what he called a rebellion of the Saxons in alliance with the Welsh, he declared he won England by the sword, and so was uncontrolled master of the situation. But again he fell back into the conciliatory position so ostentatiously put forward that he was devisee under the will of the Confessor, if one may employ the term used in wills of real estate as applying to a gift by will of a kingdom.[11] His successors paid the like deference to the Anglo-Saxon customs, at least on the day of announcing their accession, and confirmed the recognition of their validity on the very important day of coronation, which is unquestionably the day in the feudal system when the reciprocal obligation becomes binding on King and subjects.

The principles of Anglo-Norman tenure were carried to Ireland by Pembroke, De Lacy and Montmorisco or Morris, together with their followers, knights and esquires as they were, and their large trains of men at arms and those fatal bowmen, whose fellows in later years rained death in Scotland and in France. The grantees of the enormous cantreds in Ireland, of whom Sir John Davies, Attorney General of James I., had so much to say in dealing with the socio-economic aspects of the land question in his time, brought with them further modifying principles of tenure derived from their birth and their residence along the Welsh marches. They were one and all of Norman and Welsh blood; and Montmorisco, if we mistake not, was of the ancient princely blood of Wales and the royalty of Norman England. These powerful barons were already very much like Irish chieftains on their landing in the relations between them and their tenants, whether old Irish or Welsh, holding by homage and service, or Saxon soldiers occupying as men hired to follow the standard of their leader. The usages of tenure, in a word, were very much those of the counties bordering on Wales. With these char-

[11] The probability is that the Confessor only made a promise to William that he would leave him the kingdom. William certainly believed that he had a genuine title to the throne. "Conqueror" here is a word of art, like "purchaser" in a deed.

acteristics became in time intermingled the Celtic conceptions of title independent of tenure and dependent on blood.

The legal declaration of the abolition of the Brehon law early in the reign of James I., though it had the authority on that occasion of a legislative act, only affected the land tenure of the Irish districts, that is to say, those in which there had been no entrance at all for English law and usage, and the general result was the diffusion of the complex feudal tenure we have described moulded in evil directions or just directions, as strength or weakness in the successive lords or in the King's government of the Pale asserted itself. Outside the plantation counties of Ulster tenure remained in the old complicated feudal-Irish-Welsh-Border mould. The outer form of the purely Irish life and addition had passed away. The Great O'Brien was now Earl of Thomond; the Great O'Neil was Earl of Tyrone; Burke was no longer MacWilliam Oughter; he was now Earl of Clanricarde. But below this change of addition land tenure had simply resolved itself into the Norman-Celtic form in its infinite detail of usages between tenant and tenant, between lord and tenant on the relation of homage and service on the one hand and protection[12] on the other and the relation of kinship, natural and artificial, between tenant and tenant. Even for a long time after the Cromwellian settlement there was no considerable change of ideas. The Cromwellian squire, in steeple hat and boots up to his thighs, rode his stout cob to fair or market attended by his Saxon Johnnies or Celtic Teagues and rather liked the life and was not abnormally unjust to the poor Gabaonites under him, not unconscientiously harsh if left alone by the "lawless gentlemen" from Connaught returning to their old estates. We say the extinction of all the rights of tenants began at the close of the war between William and James. This was what Mr. Wyndham referred to, doubtless, when he went into high dithyrambs in his speech so often referred to in this article about the landlords who had stood the racket of dynastic wars.[13]

Now, during the contemplated purchase act very interesting articles of antiquarian law appeared in the magazines. One we remember from an English barrister, an Indian official. It was insisted upon, as we are endeavoring to do, that a regard should be had in any legislation to the inherited modes of thought of Irish tenants from the days in which their ancestors under Celt or Norman

[12] This was expressed by the phrase in the fifteenth century, "Spend me and fend me."

[13] It is just to say that the gallant gentlemen—namely, the ancestors of the Irish landlords of Cromwellian origin—most manfully fled to England from every part of the south and east and west; other English fled from a great part of Ulster. Those who found their way to Derry from the county, from Tyrone and the north of Cavan were not Cromwellians at all. They were the descendants of Scotchmen, the sons or grandsons of those crushed by Owen O'Neil's clans at Benburb.

or Cromwellian were a kind of irregular copyholders in theory, like the tenants of the tenant-right counties in Ulster. As a matter of fact, they were not copyholders, regular or irregular; for in all Ireland there was no manor, no steward of the manor, no duty of doing suit, no holding of land according to the custom of the manor which made the tenure a reflex sub-infeudation, the origin of which had been a tenancy at will. The old Norman-Irish tenancy was of a much more dignified origin; it was a holding in the nature of one by knight service, but without the esquire's title, to be made a knight at the proper time, and unfortunately too indicative of the perpetual wars going on between landlords themselves and the landlords in their wild moods with the forces of the Crown.

As we said, Mr. Morley mistook the legal character of Irish tenancy at the time he was writing. The important point the reformers of Irish land laws now as well as then had to keep in view was that outside the ancient tenures in England the occupying tenants, who constitute all the agricultural tenants of that country practically, had no relation to the land except in so far as it was the subject matter of contract between them and the owner. It is an abuse of language to speak of such owners as landlords at all in connection with occupiers in England.

The word lord means a relation not at all of contract, one of bread-giving to a dependent of the house. Coupled with the word land, the idea becomes more complex, and the landlord then is a person who gives the land that the recipient may win bread from it; but as the giving of the land is the deprivation of something immovable and necessary to himself, the giver is entitled to a return for it. Hence the feudal homage by which the tenant becomes the lord's man, "homagium," doing a man's work for the bread bestower. Such considerations as these should enter into all legislative dealings between Irish landlords and tenants in order to show that these are essentially different from those in England. Of this Mr. Morley was plainly ignorant, and in his ignorance gave away the case of the Irish tenants as one resting primarily and historically on rights back to which remedial acts of Parliament were only a slow and tentative return, and therefore wise and just as steps towards reparation.

The imported equity of the tenants' improvements was a valuable consideration, no doubt, but it was bad political logic to rest the case solely upon it. Why do they effect the improvements? Englishmen and Scotchmen asked ten thousand times. They themselves took land as a man takes a shop or a lodger his rooms.[14] Mr. Morley, arguing from a restricted view of a difficult objection, would

[14] They could not see that a tenancy of land in Ireland had the suggestion of an indefeasible estate.

say that they had no choice, and they were allowed to do so, this last implying some equity against the landlord, the latter consideration would be sound legal equity in circumstances, no doubt, but these wretched Irish tenants, upon whom the returned cowards, when the Williamite war was over, let loose their vials of wrath and hate and shame—self-shame for their cowardice—these wretched tenants had not even a legal equity and could not enforce it even if they had; they could only cling to the memory of dead facts in the hope that some day a light would come and their ancient rights would be respected. Surely there was some idea of the kind among the cattle drivers. We care not how it came. Traditions by the winter fireside are strange illuminations. In Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria tales were told night after night of deeds of derring-do performed against the Turk. There is one legend of the fall of "twelve tzars" and their countrymen round them, in a fight that went on all day against the ever-coming hosts of fresh Turks and Tartars that must have made youths say that they were the children of their sires, able to face the Turk as they had faced him. Such tales have the property of revelations big with fate, and the land traditions of Ireland brought down messages of light and duty towards themselves and all their own against the usurpers of yesterday who had scourged their predecessors with scorpions and who had no God, no conscience, no law but the blind rule of their own appetites.

As we said, Mr. Morley overrated the effect of the act of 1881 and played into the hands of Irish landlords by doing so and into those of the many hypocrites of English landlordism who used to shake their heads at the marvelous favor shown to Irish tenants. Ireland was the favorite, the godchild of the fairy godmother, the beauty of the house, to please whom was the first and last thought of the family, and so on, through columns of much nauseating twaddle in the newspapers.

We were actually gratified by the impudent, vulgar and ignorant article of a Primrose dame in one of the magazines a few years ago, in which she inveighed against her own party for making a present of £112,000,000 to the Irish swindlers, cattle mutilators and murderers. She was evidently one of those dreadful women who clapped their hands and stamped their feet at the Duchess of St. Albans *ruelle* when an Irish policeman from South Africa told of his knight-errantry against the moonlight mobs of Galway. Her ill-conditioned phrases were a relief after the nauseous flattery and disguised hatred of the *Daily Telegraph* in those days. The air is again vibrating with the artificial terrors from Ireland, and we say that the literary exercitations of well-meaning men not sufficiently informed are a strong foundation for the judicial solemnities of English landlord-

ism, for the brutal invectives of the Tories in both houses of Parliament, for those displays of "sweet reasonableness" on the part of the Unionist Irishmen whose patriotism is that of "the black list," who sold their country in the years 1799-1800 for prompt payment.

There was no relation such as Mr. Morley spoke of as "dual ownership." Possibly he was led astray by a very considerable authority on land law in its character, whether law of title or law of tenancy. We mean Mr. Justice Madden. The latter when Solicitor General for Ireland used the phrase and added that the tenant possessed the more valuable interest of the double ownership. He was talking in the House of Commons at the time. There have been always many lawyers in the House of Commons—with the exception of the *Parliamentum Indoctum* in the reign of Edward IV.—the average is a third of the House; yet, we think there is more bad law allowed to pass there than could pass unquestioned in an attorney's apprentices' debating society. There was an instance pointed out in this REVIEW when Mr. Wyndham declared that the act of 1881 would be repealed by his bill *ipso facto*.[15]

The reader must understand we hold that the act of 1881, if accompanied by some guarantees, and if the Land Commission in all its judicial ranks were not manned by assistant commissioners pledged to defeat its policy and reported to by official valuers who might be very good in the Lothians when cattle and sheep were at the highest price, but who are rather out of their place among the boulders of the Galtee mountains and the swamps along the Shannon and its tributaries. We cannot quite suppose, though, that a man so well read as Mr. Justice Madden really meant by "dual ownership" anything more than a sort of epigram which could recall to the man in the street, to every other follower of Mr. Balfour, to the men in Park Lane from South Africa who could say, like their countrywoman, the mistress of George II.: "We have come for all your goods,"[16] though with a different meaning, no doubt. We think he meant only an epigram which would recall to the mind of every malignant enemy of Mr. Gladstone and to every old woman who looked like and called herself a man his mania for confiscation, his egregious pandering to disloyalty, his passion for oppressing Protestants and elevating Papists and other enormities.

In point of law the relation between landlord and tenant continued after 1881 to be legally one of contract. In passing we may observe

[15] They were in different planes, so there could be no conflict. Sir Edward Carson and the two Irish law officers sat silently while this was being said.

[16] This lady in a court procession through London was frightened by the shouting of the mob. She put out her head through a carriage window to appease them in her broken English: "We have come for all your goods." "We know that that's what all you Germans have come for," retorted the mob.

that the landlords in the Irish Parliament, the vindictive, ruthless Cromwellians, had done away with every safeguard "tenure" conferred on the tenant. If a judge decided a point in favor of a tenant the legislature enacted a law that met it for the future. Except in the way we present, that is, to justify interference between landlord and tenant on the historic grounds of giving back through the legislature what the legislature had taken from the tenants, we do not think there was much value in Mr. Morley's reference to the relation of tenure at all. It was, in fact, an academical point of view, an academical view without the requisite knowledge.

Into the contract the act of 1881 imported some equitable conditions of great formative value for the economic future of Ireland, but all depended on the payment of the rent on the appointed day. If the tenant failed to pay, that is to say, if he could not pay, he lost every benefit of the act, was liable to ejectment for non-payment of rent (there were innumerable ejectments of tenants within the meaning of the act for this default) and was, as we have implied, at the landlord's mercy. The term dual ownership suggests partnership. The rights of partners are regulated by the instrument of partnership interpreted by the law, but one thing is clear: If the tenant could demand as a partner can demand an account of the profits accruing from the respective shares, the other partner could not eject him. You all suppose, according to Mr. Morley's idea, that the tenant was the working partner; indeed, the other would have been spoken of by Mr. Chamberlain before he became intimate with Duchesses and made war on republics as one who sowed not, neither did he spin. You will suppose that a bad year like this very year came. His cattle and sheep had died, the wild rains and the wild winds had leveled the crops of barley, rye and oats as though a charge of cavalry had passed, the potatoes had melted as they do when that terrible pestilence is hanging in the air and poisoning the earth; all this would be most excellent ground for a settlement of the partnership accounts, and the tenant as a partner would be perfectly safe; but as things are, unless the landlord—the alleged partner—had compassion, the tenant partner went out a beggar. If he refused to leave, he was evicted on judgment, and among the serious personages and things, the Sheriff, the agent, the landlord himself, the bailiff, the emergency men, the ambulance, the police, the dragoons, the infantry, that came—tell it not among gentlemen and scholars—came Balfour's Maiden[17] to the scene of operations.

[17] A battering ram which Mr. Balfour had constructed to break open the doors of the tenants' houses. He is a cultivated man; so was Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, Caxton's patron. He was known among the fierce nobles of the time as the Butcher. Surely Mr. Balfour ought to have allowed "felonious landlordism" (so spoken of by the late Earl of Clarendon, himself a big squire) to fight its own battles.

We press the point that this great act was so easily made nugatory that one may wonder why it should have been allowed to go forth in fetters, as we may say. It had within itself all the elements capable of repairing the dark and miserable past and flooding the people's hearts with hope. It held the sunshine and the gentle rain within its bosom to bestow them in blessing; it could send the soft wind with healing on its wings, in the thought of it the dream of the poet would be realized, the days for which broken, wearied souls had struggled and sacrificed and hoped would dawn; but there was a maleficent power to stay the good works of men as the same influence had turned ever and ever the bounties of God into calamity. No power the world had ever known can be adequately compared with this ignorant, pitiless, vulgar Irish oligarchy. You cannot purchase its good offices, for its greed is insatiable as the sea; it will take and take and ever cry for more. You cannot appeal to its humanity, rather "appeal to famine and wind-walking pestilence." A century and a half ago Swift said it had bowels of iron; you cannot awake a sense of shame in it, for the *Times,* even the *Times,* once passionately declared it had renounced its duties with a heart of iron and a forehead of brass.

We wonder could Mr. Gladstone have thought that the leopard had changed his spots, that the Irish landlords could be merciful or just. There was a greatness in the man that lifted him above the sphere where wicked men ply their industry; still he was a student of history and he ought to have known that the title deeds of these men rested on violence and fraud. Pah! Many of them would have smelled of blood like Cosby's, like Coote's, like Hamilton's, like Fitzwilliam's title deeds. All of them would be the sacraments of perjury, spoliation, treachery, cryptographs of undone hosts, guests, friends slain at the banquet.

It is impossible to find any redeeming qualities in this body such as may be discovered in all other ruling castes, even the Turks. We are ready to admit that as individuals these men can make themselves liked, but even as individuals their sense of honor is rather peculiar; and their honesty to creditors is a negligible quantity. Their utter want of conscience with regard to debts and the senseless extravagance which always distinguished them have been potent influences in their oppressions of their tenantry, and, as may have been seen, were a central power in producing the land purchase act.[18]

It is with a degree of reluctance we enter on the subject of per-

[18] In 1880 £160,000,000 was due on mortgage, besides simple contract debts wherever they could be contracted. The amount of these cannot be guessed; they were like "royal benevolences."

sonal dishonesty. It is on the surface at least a reflection on the whole body of the Irish people when it must be said that their upper class, or what is called their upper class, will lie with a brilliant volubility which Greeks could not rival, and this for any cause or no cause, and will perjure themselves with circumstantial exactness for a consideration. They have enough of regard for the sanctity of an oath not to swear falsely for nothing; they doubtless possess a sufficient sense of the sanction above and behind an oath to demand that the temptation be one to which a man may profitably yield. These are hardly the examples to which the lower classes can advantageously look up. There is a reason why the humbler people of Ireland are the most moral and truthful in the world—certainly the people south of the Boyne—but it would not be sociological or in touch with the psychological moment, as that most admirable representative of the very class, Sir Horace Plunkett, would express it, if we were to say that they owe this moral elevation to their religion, and that this kept them away in dark and evil days from the servants' hall and kitchen of the "big house," in which life was that of a garrison town filled with idle and reckless officers.

It is not to be supposed we are arguing this question of what the state of Ireland is for the purpose of pressing on the government the duty of stopping the sales to tenants, though the Weirs case, coming on the top of disasters, enables us to say, but with a different meaning, what Lord Londonderry said in the House of Lords—that for thirty or forty years the country never was in so bad a condition.

The tenants are simply robbed by the prices they pay for their wretched holdings, prices that are double, literally double, what can be obtained for the best equipped farms in the most favored counties of England. The apparently easy terms of the instalments are a deception, and no one knows this better than Mr. Balfour, the sponsor of Mr. Wyndham's measure. Agricultural values are falling steadily. Even the assistant commissioners, fixing fair rents, recognize this, for they are making a pretense of reduction on "second term rents." It is certain if things continue, if values continue falling, there must be a reduction on third term rents in less than five years, we shall say. Now, in cases of purchase within the zones like the Weirs estate, which appears to have collected in itself all the mischiefs which Mr. Wyndham proposed to remedy, in converting "uneconomic holdings" into "economic" and drawing the scattered pieces of holdings "in rundale" together, so that the occupier would possess them within the enclosure of a single fence free from reciprocal rights of way, which the different tenants enjoyed over each other's land—now in cases within the zones, we say, the

instalments to be paid are a reduction of ten per cent. on the second term rents to start with, and this is all ever to be had in the shape of relief. There will be no reduction of the "instalments" when what would be period of the third term will come, for these must be paid for the sixty-eight years and a half. On the other hand, had the tenants remained under the act of 1881, with the power of obtaining the succession of reductions of rent from term to term instead of going over to the tender mercies, the cast iron rigidity of the new act, rent would disappear. If the act of 1881 had been fairly administered, there would have been no need for the preposterous purchase act. Mr. Wyndham's advisers must have thought so. They could not otherwise have allowed him to say the act he was introducing would impliedly repeal it. The acts were in different planes. Why was the provision about the bonus so muddled as to give the out at elbows tenants for life £12,000,000? Will they pay their simple contract debts?[19]

The rate payers are crushed by the local burdens, the allowances out of the Irish contribution to the treasury having been withdrawn to secure the landlords the prices agreed to by the tenant purchasers. The landlords' share of the poor rates has been released, though the landlords were the makers of the paupers by the ejectments in the past. One almost laughs when he thinks how these men in a Christian country, a country at the heart of the empire and supposed to possess the liberal and enlightened views on social and political questions, which are the inheritance of Englishmen, are not merely guilty of indescribable cruelty and injustice to their countrymen, their very neighbors, but expect compensation if required to give up their cruelty and injustice. Even a *laisser faire* political economist, we mean one of that school who looks upon economic action as a law of nature not to be interfered with by sentiment, would say that the destitute are primarily a charge upon the land. We cannot go into the awful history of dealing with the poor in Ireland; it would take too long. It is a totally different thing from the method of dealing with the destitute in England. The poor in England were provided for from the time of Elizabeth. It is not meant that the poor houses there were palaces at a time that well-to-do people of the middle class had no idea of the comforts and conveniences artisans and workingmen now enjoy; but the poor in Ireland were not the sudden and uncontemplated consequence of a tremendous and universal spoliation of religious and charitable foundations. They had actually been created year after year by the new landlords, who became a settled, irresponsible and all-controlling oligarchy from

[19] Sir R. Griffen declared twenty-two years ago that all economic rent had disappeared from Irish tenancies.

the year 1692. The poor of Ireland wandered about as beggars, increasing with eviction and with births. Their children were sometimes taken from them to be brought up Protestants in foundling hospitals, charter schools and similar institutions and to die of hideous cruelty and neglect. In the first years of the late Queen the Irish poor law was established and the inmates of the new work houses were the beggars on the highway, evicted families, prostitutes and tramps of bad character. Ever and ever the numbers were recruited from evicted families; and as the land was cleared the incidence of poor rate became lighter on the cleared land and fell heavier on the lands thickly populated and, of course, upon the towns. The cleared lands were kept by the landlords in their own hands or let as grazing farms at high rents, the expense attending on them being nominal.[20] The late government relieved these gentlemen of poor rate, not merely the share they contributed with their small tenants, but what they paid on the grazing farms, too.

In the reign of George II. the landlords excited, sustained and to some extent headed an insurrection of the tenants against tithes and the Established Church. At this time the system of wide sheep farms was in full working order; the attention to black cattle was spreading, and so the country was becoming the fruitful mother of flocks and herds, as a bland Lord Lieutenant, the late Earl of Carlisle, would say. The foolish people thought that all the evils of their condition were to pass away. The "gentlemen" were to become Catholics and the Bishops and the parsons to be sent to England, while the priests would be called from the morasses and impassable bogs, from mountain caves, from deep glens, where no voice was heard but the white torrents that tore through them, no inhabitants to be seen save the fox and the wildcat and the bird of prey, to enter into possession of the churches and pleasant glebe houses and the glebe lands.

The inferior landlords and the cadets of the great families, in pursuance of this infamous object, were riding post haste from village to village stimulating, encouraging and animating the inhabitants to the rising, seeking for them up the side of the mountains, where a few wattles made the house and a level spot in the savage rocks, to which earth had been carried from below, made the "farm," following them wherever they might be found to impart the blessed tidings that their day had come. Governors of counties, Sheriffs, Deputy Governors and Justices of the Peace held their meetings with closed doors, as if to decide what should be done in such alarming conditions. Messengers from the Lord's Justices were coming from

[20] A herd and his man could look after several hundred acres of grazing land. This was an inducement to evict tenants of small tillage holdings.

Dublin and rushing back to Dublin Castle.[21] It was all a farce of zeal on the part of the Governors, High Sheriffs, Deputy Governors and Justices of the Peace. The Irish Parliament took the tithe off the demesnes, home farms and grazing lands and put it exclusively on the tenants as a reward for their part in the affair; and these duped creatures besides were imprisoned, flogged at the cart's tail and sent to the West Indies and to this country to serve as a barrier between the English settlers and the Indians. The grant of education is hypothecated, for the prices to be paid the landlords under Mr. Wyndham's act and the development grant is appropriated to make good the losses on the flotation of the loan to pay the purchase money under that act. In a word, no matter what may happen, the landlords come out triumphantly. We need not offer specific evidence of the untrustworthiness of these men. Their statements concerning the condition of the country are always believed in England. At the present time the London papers and the Irish Tory papers are united in double choruses of mendacity. There is the danger that the government will lose their heads and launch proclamations and revive those coercive statutes of which there was so much experience when Mr. Arthur Balfour was playing the part of a Cromwell *en bouffe*. At any rate, they have had their own way[22] as to how they might choose to represent things; and in deference to their statements as to facts and the expression of their fears, extra police and even soldiers have been often quartered on crimeless districts at a great charge to the people. It has been the course ever since 1692, and we fear it will be the course for a long time to come.

There are practices of petty meanness of which we know, and these practices have very distinctly, though indirectly, contributed to the obtaining of the land purchase act. When a man encumbered to the hilt desired to obtain a loan he went to London—we are speaking of the later seventies; since then a loan could only be obtained from Jews. He learned the terms and had a valuer down to his property to recast the valuation with a view to raising the rent. On this fictitious rental there was a margin that would apparently sustain the loan. There was here lying, lying as well as dishonesty, and yet Mr. Justice Ross thinks only of these men, and not at all of the mortgagees, many of whom have received no interest, or only part of the interest, since 1879, when Judge Flanagan refused to sell as long as there was disturbance in the country on the score of rent.

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[21] We have all this in the Lord Primate Boulter's letters to the Duke of Newcastle, then head of the Imperial Government.

[22] This has been always an excuse for raising rent above the valuation.

It is worth mentioning how the negotiation would proceed. The new rental was carefully prepared, the government valuation kept in the background, unless demanded, and was skillfully adjusted to bear inspection, for every one knew it was from twenty-five to thirty-three and one-third per cent. below the letting value of the tillage lands and one hundred per cent. in the case of grass lands. This was made firm by the production of the tenants' agreements to pay the increased rent—agreements signed under threats of eviction. It would be a curious subject to inquire to what extent these fictitious rents went to the swelling of arrears now found to be good debts under the purchase act, for they are included in the price to be paid, a brazen fraud on the taxpayers.

There is little more we need say. We think there is ground to suspect that the contrivance of the zones[23] was an expedient to secure excessive prices; that certain restrictions put on the purchase commissioners by secret and since suppressed rules of administration were intended to defeat the glowing prospect held out that the uneconomic holdings would be converted into farms, on which industrious men could live comfortably and bring up their families far above the sordid and degrading conditions of the past. A very effective amendment of the act can be accomplished without difficulty in the interest even of the imperial taxpayers. First, there can be a restraint put upon ejectment in the case of holdings within the purview of the act of 1881 until the tenants' interest is in reality made a quasi partnership, so that its value can be ascertained as a lien on the landlord's interest. Before the passing of the purchase act the mortgagees were clamoring for payment. They naturally stayed their hand where they found a prospect of payment in full instead of in part. If artificial prices can no longer be obtained, they will insist, as they are entitled to insist, on sale of their security. The result will be that transactions will return to the status of the years before the purchase act, when tenants paid on an average half the purchase price they are paying now. This will relieve the strain on the whole social and industrial life of Ireland, and the work of the purchase commissioners will proceed with expedition.

George McDermot, C. S. P.

New York, N. Y.

[23] When cases fell within the zones on a negotiation for purchase, the commissioners could not order inspection to ascertain value. A property which the Land Commissioners before the Purchase Act refused to consider a security for five years' purchase had to be passed by the Purchase Commissioners on a bargain for several times that number of years' purchase because the conditions of purchase brought it within the zones.

A CURIOUS HERESY.

IF THE importance of a document is to be measured by the volume of comment which it evokes, there have been few utterances of recent times of such world-wide interest as the encyclical "Pascendi Dominici Gregis." It is true that there has been discord in the tones of comment. The commentaries are not always in agreement with the encyclical or with one another. In press and magazine praise and censure jostle each other. There have been loud-ringing notes of condemnation. As usual, the empty vessels have been loudest in their denunciation and shrillest in their deafening clangor. The shallow school of thought, which, unfortunately, in this country constitutes almost the entire thought, has been sweeping in its pronouncements against the "reactionary," as it calls it, attitude of the Papacy. Even counter encyclicals have been brought into play in the blind onslaughts on a document which, in all probability, nine-tenths of the critics had never taken the pains to read, and of those who read, one-half has failed to understand. It is quite safe to say that outside the Church many pious and well-meaning people devoutly believe that the encyclical is nothing more or less than a Papal fulmination against all modern material progress. They see in the condemnation of "modernism"—if one can judge from their commentaries—a violent assault of Pius X. on all modern methods without distinction—against steam and electricity, against telegraph and telephone, against aeroplane and autocar, in a word, against all the useful and wonderful inventions of modern applied science and against all the material blessings which modern progress and modern invention have bestowed upon the world. Indeed, it is doubtful whether either the writers or the readers of the vulgar abuse heaped upon the document have yet discovered—or will ever discover—that the Papal encyclical "Pascendi Dominici Gregis" is a defense of Christian truths which should be as dear to the writers of these diatribes—if they are sincere in their Christian beliefs—as they are to the Pope himself.

In point of fact, the encyclical has been bitterly assailed in this country by two classes of Protestants. The traditional enemies of the Church, blinded by their old-time insane bigotry and prejudice and misled by the term "modernism," have, without stopping for further inquiry, rushed madly to the usual vulgar denunciation of the Church, forthwith proclaiming her for the millionth time the inveterate and irreclaimable foe of all progress and science. These constitute one class. There is, however, a consoling feature even here. It is that the volume of attack is, in this instance, less than

on former occasions. This fact alone shows that the thinking and intelligent portion of the Protestant world has grasped the true meaning of the encyclical; and evidence is not wanting that by many among them Pius X. is regarded as the God-given defender of Christianity and all its vital truths against the assaults of modern error.

The other portion of the Protestant world which has been bitter in its denunciations of the encyclical is that which has already surrendered itself completely to the witching charms of the modernistic philosophy. Modern scientific infidelity has eaten into Protestantism, even to the very core. The Christian element in many Protestant pulpits is but the shadow of a shade. The historian Lecky it was who long since called Protestantism the halfway house between Catholicity and infidelity. The average Protestant mind has to-day left the halfway house far in the rear, and while yet retaining the name of Protestant, is fast nearing the infidel goal. Men scoffed at Mrs. Humphrey Ward's hero, Robert Ellsmere, the callow mieksop, who at the mere manœuvring of the so-called learned squire completely capitulated to the "squire" before a single gun was fired. With David Crockett's coon he cried out: "Don't fire, Dave. I'll come down." It is now evident, however, that Mrs. Ward had accurately felt the pulse of Protestantism and that Ellsmere was but a type. We now have Ellsmeres by the thousand. The Protestant pulpit has surrendered without a single blow. The walls of the Protestant Jericho have tumbled at a mere shout from the scientific ranks. Instead of the saving truths of Christianity, many Protestant pulpits now emit a rank infidelity and even a pantheism which Spinoza need not have disdained.

In this country this class is unusually industrious. Its members are forever proclaiming their intellectual emancipation and their superiority to the rest of mankind. They imagine they are abreast of the scientific thought of the age. The fact is, they have mistaken noise for knowledge, braggadocio for truth and bravado for science, and they have become alarmed—even panic-stricken—to such an extent that they have rushed headlong at breakneck speed into the ranks of the unbelievers. They claim that the world has outgrown Christianity. They seek to establish religion on a new basis while still maintaining the outward form and organization. Needless to say, this class is loud in its denunciation of the encyclical. They had looked for a new religion which would be a sort of eclectic association of religion, science and socialism. Their new form of religion would be a sort of potpourri of modern science, advanced Protestantism and emancipated Catholicism, where the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man would be the chief corner-stone,

where each man would be his own moral law and where the chief architectonic features would be a Saviourless Christianity, a Godless Christ and an unknowable God. As these had been looking forward to a union with the modernistic element in the Catholic Church, the encyclical has dashed their hopes to pieces. It has recalled the ranks of Catholicism from a slight confusion to perfect order. It has been far-reaching as the bugle note to the stragglers in the army. The alignment in the Church is now as rigid as ever. The scientific knight-errants of Catholic thought are recalled to their senses. The alliance loses its most important feature—the hoped-for contingent from the Catholic ranks. Disappointment succeeds to hope. Naturally there is denunciation of the encyclical as the enemy of science, the foe of progress and the stronghold of ignorance and superstition.

There is, however, a solid and silent class outside the Church which has grasped the true meaning of the encyclical and which has recognized once more in the Papacy the mighty bulwark of Christianity, protecting it against the inroads, open or insidious, of infidelity, agnosticism and pantheism. Scholars with minds capable of grasping intellectual truth—as against those who are ever ready to take up the popular cry and shout with the multitude, being unable to penetrate deeper—have welcomed the encyclical as a purifying explosive which has cleared the atmosphere of Christianity of the noxious gases and poisonous exhalations which were injuring mental vision and fatal to Christian truth. To these the profound and scholarly range of the encyclical has been something of a revelation. It has shown to them the Church as once more the savior of the world, not only in the realm of faith, but in the region of intellectual thought as well.

Catholics have, of course, received the encyclical with joy and gratitude—nay, even with pride. It is at once a luminous exposition and a masterly refutation, and as such they welcome it. The authoritative voice has spoken, and they marvel only at the clearness and firmness of the note in such a surrounded babel of error and confusion. They are in admiration of the synthetic power which has crystallized so many volatile views and reduced the chaos of erroneous and desultory opinion to system and order. Indeed, the very reduction of the scattered errors to a unified system has of itself dealt a deathblow to the heresy; for it appears that the leaders of the movement have courted confusion and purposely and systematically avoided all arrangement and system, in order the more easily to escape observation and thus evade condemnation. For this reason, as well as for the profound and masterful refutation of the errors, the encyclical has been pronounced—and rightly so—one of the most

remarkable documents—perhaps the most remarkable document—that has ever been issued from the seat of infallible authority. Scholars are in admiration of the sureness and accuracy of its observation, the breadth and solidity of its knowledge, the depth of its philosophy and, wherever it pauses to reason, the forcefulness of its intellectuality. These things of themselves would constitute an extraordinary document, and the Catholic world would on these grounds alone receive it with pride and pleasure. But behind all this they recognize the words of the Vicar of Christ safeguarding the deposit of faith and keeping intact from all dross of error and corruption the purity of doctrine handed down by the Apostles. Hence there has been everywhere throughout the country a spontaneous uprising of leaders of Catholic thought to profess adherence to the Holy See and to thank it for this latest proof of its divine mission in its timely intervention to save the faith of Christ to the world. The Catholic press, too—what we have of it, and heaven knows that is meagre enough—has been a unit in its expression of reverent submission. And nowhere throughout the land has it been possible to detect a note of reluctance or sullenness in the submission. Indeed, the spontaneous expression of filial acceptance of the encyclical leaves little room for doubt that modernism had been far from obtaining anything like a firm foothold in the Church in the United States.

And yet there is, nevertheless, a feeling of relief that the voice of infallible authority has spoken. There is even a conviction that it has not spoken one moment too soon. There is little doubt that the foolish notions—for in this country it seems absurd to call them doctrines or even errors, so vague and shadowy have they been—were creeping in apace. The cockle had been oversown somehow among the wheat "when men were asleep." It had not yet, however, taken very deep root. The presence of the new mode of thought was manifested occasionally by a strange form of expression in the pulpit, by a novel or startling phrase in a magazine, by an affectation of modernity in everything, even in religion. These things, however, were regarded as a mere weakness in the author—a concession to modern tendencies outside the Church—love of novelty or perhaps of singularity born of a harmless vanity. And, indeed, even from this our Catholic literature in the United States had been remarkably free.

The same could not be said, however, not only of all our Catholic literature, but even of all our English Catholic literature. The unpleasant conviction was at last beginning to force itself upon the mind that there was after all something behind the unique phraseology, which first seemed to be merely an imitation of the advanced

Protestant pulpit thought. One of the earliest instances of the new affectation appeared some years ago in an admirable work of meditations adapted from an earlier age by a distinguished prelate now gone to his reward. The modern weakness and seeking after strange gods was shown in the very preface of the work, which is otherwise incomparable in its matter, method and spirit. The reader was gravely informed that the author had in more than one instance broken away from the mediævalism of the original; that certain points in a particular meditation had been "derived from Max Nordau's Degeneratio;" that "certain ideas in the same treatise, and perhaps elsewhere, had been suggested by Mr. Benjamin Kidd's Special Evolution," and there was even the boast that "one has been taken, almost verbally, from Herbert Spencer." These things were all very well in their way, but their significance appeared on reference to the passages themselves, of which let one example suffice. For instance, in the meditation on prayer, after the author has told in most admirable terms that "this is one of the highest employments of the intelligence and the will of man," he immediately adds: "It (prayer) is specially distinctive of rational creatures; for although it prevails among the lowest races of men, there is no rudimentary form from which it *can* have been developed (italics ours), in even the highest race of animals; and it is most effective in keeping man from reverting in life and morals to the animal type." Other instances might be added from this work, which, aside from these slight disfigurements, is one of the most enjoyable works that has come from the Catholic press in a quarter of a century.

Occasionally, too, old-fashioned people were startled to find a staid magazine which for years, perhaps, had been a very Gibraltar of conservatism opening its pages to the ventilation of "modern" ideas. In them we were all severely lectured on the sin of conservatism. "Non-concessionism" was the unpardonable crime. "Progressive Catholicism" must have a clear field. And we were even gravely warned that "intolerant non-consessionism may prove responsible for crises in matters of faith."

Then, too, we had a Catholic novel dealing frankly with the subject, about which, perhaps, the less said the better. It is, however, worthy of observation that while it gratuitously ascribed a strange morality to the Roman Curia as a line of policy, and commended it highly for the attributed worldly wisdom in this respect, that in some quarters the work was hailed as a new gospel, that enthusiastic admirers should read their own ardent views into the opinions of the world at large, and that we should be gushingly informed that this work "of such profound and actual interest" had "been welcomed on all hands as a Catholic masterpiece."

Deeper, however, than gush and highwrought optimism of this nature the evil does not seem to have descended. The voice of authority was, therefore, all that was needed to cause the scales of delusion to fall from our eyes. Roma locutua est; and a cackle that was threatening to become noisy and slightly overbearing is hushed.

While here in the United States we are startled by the virulence of the errors and amazed at the sweeping infidelity and even pantheism of the doctrines as exposed by the Holy See, it appears that the matter is not wholly new in Europe. Neither does it seem to be a passing aberration of misguided enthusiasts. The error seems to be deeply seated and deeply rooted. It comes as an unpleasant surprise to us in this Western Continent, to find that there should be any class, or school, or number of men within the bosom of the Church, whether associated together by definite ties or not, who entertain views of Christianity utterly subversive of all Christian belief and order. And yet the encyclical tells us: "Once, indeed, we had hopes of recalling them to a better sense, and to this end we first of all showed them kindness as our children, then we treated them with severity, and at last we have had recourse, though with great reluctance, to public reproof. . . . They bowed their head for a moment, but it was soon uplifted more arrogantly than ever." The Holy See might even then have overlooked the matter, as the encyclical informs us, "but the security of the Catholic name is at stake." "As to maintain" silence "longer would be a crime," the encyclical depicts these men "in their true colors, and their evil disguise is unmasked." Nay, the encyclical informs us that such are "their tenets, their manner of speech, their conduct" that no one will "err in accounting them the most pernicious of all the adversaries of the Church." "They lay the axe not to the branches and shoots, but to the very root; that is, to the faith and its deepest fibres." "There is no part of Catholic truth from which they hold their hand, none they do not strive to corrupt." Nay, what is more, "none is more skillful, none more astute than they in the employment of a thousand noxious art; for they double the parts of rationalist and Catholic, and this so craftily that they easily lead the unwary into error." Again, we learn that "audacity is their chief characteristic," and that consequently "there is no conclusion of any kind from which they shrink or which they do not thrust forward with pertinacity and assurance." What "destroys all hope of cure," moreover, is that "they disdain all authority and brook no restraint."

This is an appalling arraignment, and we do not see that it is not only the interest, but the Christian duty of Catholics to take a firm stand in the exposure and censure of their errors. No Catholic worthy of the name can look on with indifference. Everything that

the Christian holds dear is, it appears, gravely challenged. Our most earnest and sacred beliefs, our most ardent Christian hopes, our most cherished religious and devotional institutions—the whole divine economy of the Christian faith—is at one stroke obliterated, and man is again rudderless on the ocean of life. It is, indeed, startling to be told by an authority which there is no questioning that there are men within the bosom of the Church—and who, strange to say, wish to stay there—who would persuade us that Christ was but a mere man, who deny His resurrection, who would obliterate from the world all supernatural dealing of God with His creatures, who would exclude all revelation and all miracle, who at a single stroke would wipe out all the sacred parables and divine teachings of Jesus Christ, all the dogmatic teachings of the Church, all the sacraments, all supernaturalism, and who would degrade religion to the rank of handmaid to a blundering science—men who will tell us there has been no external revelation from God to man; that not even from the things that are seen can we conclude the existence of God; that all religion is born of a sentiment inherent in man; that solely by the evolution of this sentiment—as the tree is developed from the seed—has there been a growth of religion; that all the religious phenomena to be met with in the world's history means nothing more than the development of this sentiment; that consequently all religions are equally true; that the wild vagaries of the human mind that have been palmed on deluded disciples as direct from heaven—everything from the excesses of the Lollards to Mormonism and Mrs. Eddy—have been equally true with the teachings and virtues of Christianity; that all have fulfilled their own legitimate and useful part in the development and evolution of society in general and of religion in particular, and consequently we suppose that they were the best religion for the time—as the evolutionists have it—being simply links in the chain of development.

This is indeed strange Catholic doctrine. God is unknowable. Revelation is impossible. Miracles are unphilosophical. Christ was a mere man. He died and His body rotted in a pit like that of other men. And still the expounders of these theories wish to stay in the Catholic Church and maintain their preposterous speculations. What wonder that the world should be startled! What wonder that in this country, where we have had no such vagaries broached, the news should come as a genuine surprise and should be received with commingled pity and indignation.

And what is the cause of all this commotion and new religious enlightenment? Has there been a new revelation? No. Has there been a disproof of the revelation which we have? No. Has there been a disproof of all the doctrines and tenets of Christianity? No.

Has there been a disproof of even one of these doctrines? No. It is not claimed that there has been. Has there been any invention or discovery which has discredited our Christian beliefs? Again no. But the encyclical leaves no room for doubt about the reason. We are asked to cast aside the whole Christian teaching and to overturn the whole Christian fabric simply, it appears, because there are men who want to be in the forefront of a shouting, braying, shallow age. Thus for the first time in the Church's history do we find men calling themselves Catholics who have undertaken to blot out the name of Jesus Christ as the Son of God in the true meaning of the term, who mingle blasphemy, heresy and piety in equal proportions, and who would take away the sign of man's salvation and redemption; for if Christ be not God, as they would persuade us, what meaning can be attached to His life or to His Cross?

It would, we think, be difficult to find in all human experience psychological phenomena of so extraordinary a character as the frame of mind indicated by the position of the modernist as exposed in the encyclical. The logical absurdity of their attitude as fighting for the retention of Christianity while they are making war on everything that makes Christianity valuable is without a parallel in the history of human aberrations. Christianity is false, they assure us. Its teachings are absurd. There never was any such thing as a revealed doctrine to mankind. There has been no supernatural foundation whatever on which to build the Christian edifice. And yet the Christian edifice, founded upon a lie, must be retained at all hazards and at any cost. Again, Christ announced that He was the Messiah—the true Son of God—all falsehoods in the eyes of the modernists. Consequently, according to them, the Saviour of mankind was the rankest and most daring impostor, if we can use the words without blasphemy. And yet Christ is one of the features to which the modernist must cling with the most unyielding tenacity. His personality must have and hold all its old-time power to sway the mind and captivate the will of men.

As a mere psychological problem, it would be difficult to give anything like a rational solution of such a preposterous attitude. But viewed from the historical standpoint, it admits, we think, of an easy solution, though, to be sure, the intellectual absurdity of the position remains the same as ever. The encyclical tells us that of "the intellectual causes of modernism . . . the chief one is ignorance." To those who have followed closely the various movements in modern science and modern philosophy for the past quarter of a century or more this ignorance would seem to be combined with fear and anticipation. There is, we think, hardly any doubt that the present movement is the legitimate offspring of recent follies in

science, philosophy and Biblical interpretation. It would seem to be the joint product of three separate and distinct factors—viz.: what is called the agnostic philosophy—the Darwinian theory of evolution—and the Tubingen school of hermeneutics, or, more properly speaking, of the so-called higher criticism which has superseded the school of Strauss and Baur. To this coalition the modernist seems to have completely and incontinently surrendered his Christian faith. The careful and rigid exclusion of the divine in human history, of the supernatural in Christianity and of the superhuman in Christ seems to have been a broad concession to the folly of agnosticism. The fantastic theories in their Scriptural interpretations and the rules adopted for the explanation of the divine in human affairs seem to be but mere modifications of Strauss and Baur or even of Renan, applied according to the personal fancy of the hermeneutist. And, lastly, fear that the Darwinian speculation regarding man's origin might finally prove true, would seem to have been the primary cause of the movement. Even in the elaboration of their strange theories they seem to have followed, or perhaps borrowed, the method of the evolutionist in his application of his theory to phenomena generally.

Indeed, there seems to be nothing original even in the modernist's mistakes. The systems of development, the methods and processes of theoretical application, the very notions themselves seem to be borrowed wholly from the principles and methods of the evolutionist. Even the theory of immanence seems to be but an adaptation of Max Müller's views in his "Origin and Growth of Religion," in which he undertook to "show how religion arose with the pressure of the Infinite upon the Finite suspect, and how all religious systems are not progressive phases of the endeavor to give a rational expression a sensible and intelligible garb to what is super-sensible, transcendental and irrational in that consciousness of the Infinite which every sensible perception forces on us." It had grown to be the custom, within the past couple of decades, to explain everything according to the idea of evolution and to apply that principle in its workings to the development of all phenomena. The late Herbert Spencer had undertaken to apply the theory not only to the organic and inorganic world, but to all classes of phenomena, whether material, mental, moral, social, political, historical or religious, and had actually made application of it, such as it was, to some of these departments of knowledge. The world to-day has its own views about the value of these labors. Spencer himself seemed to have grasped the notion of their folly and absurdity before he left them forever. In spite of this, however, the modernist, all unconscious of the folly of the evolutionist's work in this department, seems to have

taken up the duty of applying the theory of evolution in the realm of religion, thus continuing the work of Spencer and showing the development of Christianity in accordance with the evolutionist theory. The task of the modernist seems to have been simply an attempt to fit the Church into the modern theories of the universe, especially to make the Catholic religion the outcome of the theory of evolution and even a part of the process itself. The Catholic Church would thus, so far from being at variance with the Darwinian theory, be in itself an exemplification, and even a proof, of that theory. Religious phenomena had developed—like all other phenomena—according to the natural law of evolution. Thus the Catholic Church was proof of the Darwinian theory. The lion of natural science and the lamb of religion could after all lie down peaceably and amicably together under the dexterous manipulation of the modernist.

But there was more even than the work of exemplifying the workings of a great natural principle in this skillful manipulation. There was the task of saving the Church. For the first time in her history —in the opinion of the modernist—the indestructible Church stood in actual danger of total destruction, and the modernist alone seemed to comprehend the danger. These men, wiser than their generation, with a keenness of perception greater than that of their fellow-men, realized the awful peril of the situation. They beheld—or seemed to behold—science (modern science), with all its inventions, discoveries, incontrovertible facts and marvels of every kind, to say nothing whatever of its numberless hypotheses and theories, rushing with irresistible force against the Catholic Church. They beheld leagued with science the now powerful forces of agnosticism and the higher criticism. They had seen how all other forms of Christianity had gone down before the fearful coalition. They took all the vaporings of science for granted. All its empty boasts were for them established facts. They imagined they saw the whole mountain mass of modern science threatening, bearing down upon the Church, carrying with it inevitable, overwhelming destruction. They alone seemed to perceive the danger. They foresaw the inevitable doom of Catholicity unless something was done. They resolved at once to do what they could to save Catholicity, and they flung themselves unhesitatingly into the breach to rescue the Church from the disastrous fate which had already overtaken all other religions. They beheld the storm threatening, gathering wrath and fury as it came, and they resolved to do what in them lay to avert the impending destruction.

It must, however, have been an anxious moment as they stood for the instant aghast with horror. Were all the glories of the

Christian Church to be obliterated in a twinkling? Was that wondrous power in Christianity that had leavened and fashioned human society and moulded and kneaded the masses of humanity into Christian civilization and refinement to go for nought at last? Must that marvelous organization of the ages—the Church itself—the pride, the admiration, the wonder, the glory of the Christian world—must it, too, pass? Had all its so-called truths no meaning after all? Was even Christ Himself to be a failure—to pass the way of other men? So marvelous an entity, so glorious an organization as the Church—could it not be saved? Such a splendid personality as that of Christ—must that, too, go? Surely in the world's history we meet with but too few personalities such as that of the Nazarene —could not so lofty an ideal be preserved to humanity? If not for the Godlike, at least for the manlike. Surely such potent factors in the history and development of human society as had been Christ and His Church should not be surrendered without a supreme effort. They had loomed up so in the history of all human phenomena and had towered so loftily above all other human organizations and personalities, their influence had so dominated all history since their appearance in the world, nay, before—were it not a thousand pities to permit them to be lost to the world in the universal wreck and ruin of things religious? Could not their power, influence, character be rescued from the universal disaster of all things? So unequaled a prestige, so benign an influence—surely they must be preserved to the world at any cost. And then, too, why instead of warfare should the Church not sue for peace? Even if religion were to make sacrifice and admit a compromise? To be sure she must not sacrifice everything. And then why should the Church be ever and always regarded as the sworn enemy of science? How glorious if we could only join hands in all the vagaries of modern folly! What even if they are vagaries? See the tremendous advantage that would accrue to the Church from a slight concession—and then, too, disaster otherwise awaited her. Could not a compromise be made by the Church with the higher criticism, the agnostic philosophy and the leading (but unproven, it is true) hypothesis of modern science? Surely it were madness not to make for peace. Could there not be discovered a *via media* where all should meet in harmony and friendship and ploughshares and pruning hooks should supersede the sword and the spear? Surely such an enterprise were worthy of all their powers.

Accordingly they cast about for the means of salvation for both Christ and His Church. One thought seems to have predominated in all their search after the means. In the coming change which was inevitable, could not the Church be so revolutionized that it

could fall naturally into its place among scientific institutions and thus put an end to the conflict forever? Could it not be made to fit in with the new theories of the universe, the new modes of thought, the new and advancing sciences? Could it not be made to exemplify in its own existence the truth of the survival of the fittest, and at the same time retain all its former power for good amongst mankind? It was, indeed, a bold thought—a desperate resolve. But what if once made and carried to successful completion, the Church should by such an arrangement be successfully placed beyond all reach of harm for all future time, and its entire lustrous history, its dogmas, it authority, its institutions, its sacraments, its faith, its supernaturalism, nay, its veryFounder—all be placed henceforth and forever beyond all reach of danger? Here, indeed, was a task worthy of the powers of such men as they—a work destined to ensure the gratitude of all future time. At all events, one thing was certain—unless some exertion was made, and that quickly, the Catholic Church must pass with all else. Its glory, its grandeur, its splendid prestige, its marvelous history, its golden beliefs, its sublime ideals, its unexampled morality, its magnificent promises all must pass the way of all things that stood in the path of the mighty tidal wave of modern science, philosophy and hermeneutics which was sweeping in its course of destruction to all conservatism of ancient beliefs. As they alone perceived the danger, so they alone could be depended upon to avert it. And with a zeal that was praiseworthy and deserving of a better cause, they set to work to stem the awful advancing tide of destruction and death.

To the modernist there was but one remedy—the old faith must be remodeled. Catholicity must be reconstructed on a new basis. The exigencies of the case demand that the work be done in the fuller light of science, and, what is more, that faith itself must be put upon a scientific basis.

And they were not wholly without precedent here. It was but a short time since morals were precisely in the same danger that now confronted faith. At least so thought the late Herbert Spencer. They had been unfastened from their moorings of religion by another such tidal wave of science. Was morality therefore to be lost to the world? "Few things more disastrous" to mankind could occur than the destruction of morals, total and absolute. Heaven knows what might have happened to morality had not the late Herbert Spencer been prescient enough to foresee the danger and inventive enough to prepare the remedy. Few things in the world's history are more imposing in their colossal dimensions than the task which Spencer undertook—viz., to lift the entire edifice of morality from its tottering religious foundations and place them securely on new scientific

foundations prepared by himself with extraordinary labor and exertion. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the world has ever fully appreciated or realized the gigantic labors that Spencer spontaneously undertook in its behalf. That extraordinary enterprise is now paralleled by the work of the modernists. Danger threatened the ancient edifice of Christianity. The old Catholic Church, founded on a rock though she was, found that the rock itself was swaying beneath her. The only remedy, as the modernist perceived it, was to lift the entire edifice of faith and Catholic belief from the old foundations, now so insecure, and place it on the new sure foundations of science specially constructed for it by men providentially sent for the purpose. With the noble example of Spencer before their eyes, the task was easy. Indeed, not only in the particular work of shifting morality from the foundations of religion to those of science, they could copy him and did copy him. In the execution of the work they found that they were merely effecting an extension of his labors, and were, as has been seen, applying to religion the principles of development which he had traced out in so many other departments of phenomena. It might have been a mere overweening vanity. It might have been a colossal egotism. It might have been a still more colossal ignorance. But one thing seems certain—viz., that the modernists at the outset were sincere in their endeavors and were wrapped up in a sort of a poetico-religious enthusiasm in their self-appointed task of saving Catholicity. But certainly there was a striking parallel between their Quixotic endeavor and the absurd labors of Herbert Spencer in building his scientific ethical foundations. The gigantic undertaking of shifting the magnificent edifice of Christianity from the unsafe and outworn foundations of Jewish history to the surer concrete of modern science too closely resembles the Herculean labors of Spencer both in its conception and in its ridiculous, absurd and impossible feat, not to have been inspired by and to some extent modeled on it. They saw—or thought they saw—better than the rest of men where the danger lay, and they were satisfied that only they were competent to discover and apply a remedy.

That this is the true state of the case there can be little doubt. Only the other day the English leader of the movement publicly upbraided Pius X. with his blindness and stupidity in not yet realizing the true condition of affairs or in failing to see where lay the danger and where the remedy.

Their real intent and object seems to have been to preserve Catholic Christianity to the world. They perceive its necessity for society, for the individual. Their stupendous labors, with all the included blunders and follies, seem to be a more or less ingenious

attempt to retain and preserve the Catholic Church for mankind. Indeed, adaptationists would seem to be the proper term to apply to them in this view of their work; for all their efforts would seem to lie in the direction of an adaptation of the Church's organism, its machinery, its discipline, its supernatural influences and effects to modern conditions as they regard them. They would apply its supernatural powers naturally. They would retain all the light and heat of the sun with all its marvelous effects, while discarding the sun itself. It is, it is true, like an attempt to produce all the results of sunlight by means of moonlight. It is folly, of course, folly of the supreme kind, but having seen it attempted in other departments of phenomena in accordance with the supposed processes of evolution, the modernist would apply the same methods and processes to revelation and religion. These must be revised in the light of our twentieth century knowledge, rearranged and made to fit into their places in our modern development. One thing is certain, however, they must not abandon Catholicity. Catholicity is far too valuable to be lost to the world. Moreover, no other religion can take its place or fulfill its mission. No other is so adapted to the needs and wants of humanity. All that is necessary is that it should be adjusted to its new scientific environment.

That their intentions have been the very best—if the veriest absurdities—seems to be certain. It was in no rebellious spirit that they set about their self-imposed task. They were going to use the mighty engines of science for the use of the Church and enlist all modern science in the Church's behalf. Here are the words of one of their most ardent admirers on this point: "Notwithstanding the fears of their co-religionists, the progressives are convinced of the necessity of employing for the Church's use these (new) sciences." The hopes of their admirers—to say nothing of themselves—seem to have been even rose-colored. "Whether," we read, "their views will ultimately prevail or not cannot be prophesied, but it is hardly going beyond our present data to say that they are daily gaining recruits, and that the time seems to be drawing near when they or theirs shall have some share in the official direction of the Church." We were further told that "accordingly, these Catholics, entirely single-minded and high-souled, have set themselves the noble though risky task of capturing the enemy's arsenals for the defense and protection of the Church." Noble words! For a still more noble work! Eheu! If these "high-souled and single-minded" Catholics had only not permitted the enemy to capture them so completely and utterly. But every one who reads the glowing eulogy above and happens to bethink him of the strange *denouement* will doubtless be forcibly reminded of the Scotch soldier who called to his captain

from the thicket with the important news that he had captured a prisoner, and on being told by his superior officer to bring the "prisoner" forward, was forced to the ignominious confession: "Aye! aye! mon, but he will nae let me." This seems to be the nature of the capture of the enemy's arsenals accomplished by the modernists.

The glaring absurdities of the situation seem to have never been perceived by the modernists. It never seems to have occurred to them that if the Church was not true she was not worth saving; that if she had failed at all or was in any danger of failing she could not be the true Church of God. "Why are you fearful, oh, ye of little faith?" never seems to have entered into their philosophy at all. On the one hand they seemed to think they could do a lasting service to a Church which they admitted could not be destroyed by saving it from destruction, and on the other that they could confer an inestimable favor on the law of evolution, which they admitted to be inexorable, by applying it to a class of phenomena which, it was inevitable, must be guided by it in any case. It was, indeed, something—was it not?—to point out to an infallible Church a course by which she could not fail, and at the same time so to direct an unerring law of nature that its force and efficacy could not be frustrated or itself miss its certain goal. Their zeal seems to have been a strange admixture of religious poetry and childish simplicity. In their ardent desire to be of use in the movement of things they cheerfully volunteered to determine the course of a predetermined agent and to guide the footsteps of a divinely infallible guide. To usurp the place of what they conceived to be a natural law, or to arrogate to themselves the functions of the Holy Spirit in the divine guidance of the Church is somewhat startling conduct in men who are said, before all things, to boast of their surpassing intellectuality.

Then, too, they seem to forget that it has not been the Church's custom to remodel her beliefs to suit the epoch or to adapt them to the changing follies of the times; nay, that, on the contrary, her proudest boast is that she has remained unchanged in the midst of a constantly changing world; indeed, that her immutability is bound up in and inseparable from her indestructible vitality. They seem to overlook the important fact that if you change the essence of a religion, you have no longer the same religion, but a new one, and that when you expunge from a creed all that is vital you may indeed make a new creed, but you have the old one no longer. Nor do they seem to show a very precious regard for the nature of truth when they imply that a thing may be true to-day and false to-morrow, and *vice versa.*

One thing, however, before all they never seem to have lost sight

of and never seem to be able to relinquish—viz., that the Catholic Church is best adapted for life in the new order of things as she also was in the old. It only needs to be remodeled according to the modernist's ideas to enter upon a new epoch of usefulness. Their changes effected, the Church will fit perfectly into its place in the new scientific dispensation. This plasticity and adaptability to new situations, which seems to be destined to take the place of her old-time immutability, the modernists evidently regard as the new view of the indestructibility of the Church.

Their attitude here would seem to throw some light on what is to many a perplexing and to some an incomprehensible feature—viz., the preposterous and absurd determination, *aut fas aut nefas,* to remain within the Church. Indeed, the whole movement seems to possess a *naivete* entirely new in heresiarchs and points on the one hand to a childish fear of science which it does not comprehend and which it has evidently magnified into an irresistible and overwhelming power whose approach is inevitable, and on the other points to a refreshing confidence in their own ability to avert the catastrophe which must inevitably come unless they (who understand the danger and can apply the remedy) bestir themselves into intense activity. Preposterous and ridiculous as are now their self-complacent assumption of authority, it was—at first, at least—far from being a mere affectation or pretension. They were before all dreadfully in earnest. They seem to have regarded themselves as called upon to do what in them lay to save the Church. It was in the hope doubtless of saving a remnant of Israel that they started on their career of apologists, heremeutists, theologians and philosophers—a hope, alas! which has ended so lamentably.

How lamentable, even from an intellectual standpoint, is seen from the religion which the encyclical points out as theirs. The adapted Catholicity which they would give us is a mere religious scarecrow. Catholicity togged out in the garments of evolution, agnosticism and the higher criticism is a spectacle to witness. They would give us precisely what Protestantism has been giving its followers for religion ever since it surrendered its faith in Christian truths. The skeleton of the old form is indeed there, but its carcass is fearful to behold. The organization they would retain, but robbed of all that was desirable, its outline is ghastliness itself. The edifice they would save, but its interior structure is as though a conflagration had passed through it, or as though the structure had been convulsed in the throes of a Calabrian earthquake. It is Protestantism diluted by science into a crude rationalism. It is rampant Unitarianism substituted for Catholicity. It is agnosticism and false science as expounders of the Sacred Scriptures and the source and inspiration of

Christianity. It deals with the divine personality of Christ as advanced Protestantism has already dealt with it. "The full, rich, glorious Christ of Catholic Christianity has been dragged from His throne by these 'advanced' thinkers (God save the mark!) and reduced to beggary. A pale, bloodless, emaciated Syrian Ghost, He still dimly haunts the icy corridors of this twentieth century Protestantism, from which the doom of His final expulsion has been already spoken." These words of a Protestant clergyman, depicting the awful situation in the Protestant world, aptly describes what the modernist would place on the altars of Catholicity. This is what the modernist would give to the Church, as he found himself swayed by the double emotions of fear and vanity. For no character of rebellion, no uprising against authority, no heretical opinions, at first led them onward. The greatest reproach at the outset might be, "Why are your fearful, oh, ye of little faith?" Indeed, at first they must have regarded their action as not only praiseworthy, but absolutely necessary. However absurd, ridiculous, illogical or misguided it may have been, the movement at the outset seems to have been at least well-intentioned. Their colossal vanity seemed to point out to them a colossal duty and to impose upon them a colossal task. They saw—or thought they saw—better than the rest of men where the danger lay, and they imagined that they—not the divinely appointed pilot—were specially called, now that the Church was upon the rocks, to guide it to the port in safety, since they alone knew precisely the rocks and shoals that lay beneath the surface of the angry waters. Accordingly they take out of the hands of the properly constituted authority the task of successful guidance. The legitimate pilot sees the danger, snatches the helm from their silly grasp in the nick of time. The bark is saved; they are wrecked.

It is another instance where men who believed themselves wiser than the rest of the world fall into the most obvious errors and make the commonest blunders. The modern "reign of terror," as it has been appropriately styled, seems to have completely hypnotized these men—Loisy falling an easy prey to the vagaries of the higher criticism and Tyrrell the victim of the Darwinian theory. How peculiarly dangerous to weak heads is the modern effervescence of scientific and philosophic theories can be learned when we see these men so intellectually blinded by them that they even sink into that slough of all philosophy—agnosticism—and this, too, without seeming to perceive that in so doing they have reached the lowest point of intellectual degeneracy. The Catholic world stood amazed when it beheld Protestantism yielding without striking a single blow in the guerilla warfare which a barbarous science has been waging on Christianity and in which it thought to completely extinguish it; but

it never for a moment dreamt that men could be found within the bosom of the Church itself so timid in faith, so unversed in the wiles and tactics of modern sophistry, so shallowly grounded in sound philosophy as to seriously entertain for a moment the thought of accepting the impudent and ignorant strictures and arbitrary limitations which philosophical outlaws like the agnostic bandits have attempted to place upon the supernatural.

Absurd and childish as has been the entire movement in its conception, inception and development, it is safe to say that the world has not yet heard the last of modernism. While the sources of the errors remain they are sure to poison thought. It was the boast of the late Professor Huxley that the ferment in modern scientific theories was fast "whirling featherheads into all sorts of eccentric orbits." Even so, who would ever have dreamt of the eccentricities of modernism? And who can forecast what further eccentricities in science, philosophy and religion the future may bring? Startling as are the strange vagaries of intellect as revealed in modernism, there may be more still in store for us while the aberrations in philosophy and science dominate thought. And it is the Church which must meet and combat each new error.

The Catholic Church now stands absolutely alone in her conflict with modern error. She it is that, without reinforcement of any kind, must take the field and drive out the intellectual marauders from the regions of science and philosophy and restrain their pillage in the realm of religion. Once, indeed, Protestantism stood as a mighty breakwater between the Catholic Church and the waves of infidelity. The last vestige of that breakwater has, however, now disappeared, submerged completely far below low-water mark. The Catholic Church now stands foursquare to the full brunt of the storm and must meet the full fury of the waves. She is divine. She is infallible. She is indefectible. She can and will meet it, even as she has met modernism. But her children—her scientists, her philosophers, her hermeneutists—should spare her the pain of direct encounter and the shock of dealing her deadly blows. And here comes the question, what have her soldiers been doing in the case of modernism? Evidently they were quietly sleeping at their posts, and no one perceived the danger until the conflict was over and the death-bearing bolts had passed. The danger was unseen of all except the great sentinel on the watch-tower. The soldiers knew of the danger only when the general had come down and already scattered the forces of the enemy. Now, at least, the soldiers should gird themselves for future conflict. There remain with us still a false science, a pernicious school of hermeneutics and the grotesque philosophy of agnosticism, with all its arrogant and

aggressive stupidity. Until the field is completely cleared of these noisy and mischievous elements men will not be permitted to be at peace.

It is true that the world had already begun to estimate the noisy, blatant school of science and philosophy of the last generation at their proper value. In the perspective men had begun to recover their mental vision and were beginning to see through the tricks of the soothsayers of speculative science. They have begun to judge according to the Baconian principle, and on taking inventory of the "fruits" they find them to be very meagre indeed. The sober-minded, thoughtful portion of mankind that does not rest satisfied with the surface foam, but goes to the bottom of things, is fast coming to the conclusion that they mistook noise for knowledge. self-laudation for learning and assertion for truth. The present generation has been settling down to the sober conviction that Huxley was a mere clever scientific fakir, Spencer a philosophical mountebank and Darwin a hypothesizing bore. As philosophers and speculatists the school has been the shallowest of modern times. But the baleful legacy of their errors remains with us, and no one need be surprised to see a renaissance of the entire speculation. Nor would it be surprising to find the baffled modernist, thwarted in his attempt to betray religion into the hands of the agnostic and the Darwinian, attempting to revive, as far as in him lies, the agitation of hypotheses and theories which were dying a natural death.

It is only by a thorough exposure of the utter groundlessness of modern scientific speculations that the world can ever hope to be rid of the shallow school and its blighting results. We seem to stand in need of trained scientists who have learning, insight and courage. We need men who are not swayed by the popular clamor or the verdict of mere scientific plebiscites. Two things are needed in the modern Catholic scientist—keen and accurate perception of truth, which will safeguard him against all imposition of a noisy charlatanry and the syren blandishments of modernity and progress, and then moral courage to stand firm and immovable in the face of loud, assertive and aggressive pretension. So far there have been but few that have not been carried off their feet. Since the days of Orestes A. Brownson we have had no champion of truth in the English-speaking world. We now need just such another. With all his faults and shortcomings in philosophy, no man saw more clearly the errors of other schools, whether in science or philosophy, and no man more mercilessly exposed the shortcomings and false pretensions of the shallow men, whom it has since Brownson's day become the fashion to worship. Whatever the errors in his own philosophy, he never failed to pierce with the lancet of his criticism

the weak points in modern errors. What is needed now especially is an uncompromising champion of truth like Brownson, who will like him rout the school of sophists and so-called scientists who shelter themselves under the name of modern speculative science.

In the field of hermeneutics the magisterium ecclesiae is, of course, the rule, norm and guide. The Protestant principle of private judgment in the interpretation of the Scriptures seems, in our day, to have taken on a new meaning and to have been adopted by Catholics of a certain school. They do not seem to impugn the meaning attached to particular texts so much, but they arrogate to themselves the privilege of pronouncing on the fact of inspiration. Indeed, like the non-Catholic school of critics, they treat the Scriptures as purely human documents, and thus claim the right to deal with them as they will. This intellectual age, we are told, must not be fettered with the ignorant prejudices which have clung to the sacred books through the ages. Thus each Biblicist not only interprets for himself the sacred books, but accepts as sacred as much or as little of them as he pleases. Accordingly, we have as many fanciful theories about the sacred text, especially about the sacred personality and words and acts of Christ, as we have modern readers. Each man makes his own Scripture and fashions his own Christ to please his fancy. We are living in such an advanced, scientific, intellectual, enlightened age that we cannot be expected to have patience with an uncritical age and an unscientific or rather pre-scientific era. This is not the place to deal with this sort of folly. All that need be said to show its absurdity is that all the higher flights of intellectuality were reached long before the period so slightingly spoken of by the smatterers of our day. The sphericity of the globe and its meters belong, indeed, to our day. So does the law of gravitation and the New Organem. But all of them—even Bacon's discovery—differ not only in degree, but in kind from the wonderful products of human genius which gave to mankind the mathematical sciences and the syllogism, to say nothing of the alphabet or the particular science of numbers or the speculations of the ancient philosophers regarding the origin of things, the nature of matter, on which even our day has made but little advance. And these we received not in lame or halting condition, but perfected and completed instruments ready for use at all future time. Imagine our intellectual (?) age giving us such perfect instruments of knowledge. But to imagine it is to imagine the impossible. It is safe to say that had the world depended on our epoch for wonderful instruments of the intellect as necessary for us as our hands and feet and eyes and ears, and whose value and importance we are accustomed to forget, like those of the latter also, the world would never have come into the possession or enjoyment of them.

And yet we must now question all things as though we for the first time had shown the world what intellect means, whereas, the fact is that the stature of the human intellect in its features of pure intellectuality seems to be shrinking as time advances.

But with a nonchalant air of admitted superiority, the modernist seems to push aside unceremoniously all the ages that have intervened since the dawn of Christianity, and after a period of well-nigh two thousand years deals with facts and personages and events as if they occurred yesterday and no one had ever dealt with them before. The world had been all this while in possession of a rare casket whose value it was reserved specially for the present age to accurately determine. And, worst of all, the only key to its determination seems to be simply their own fancy, while the world must accept as gospel their mere *ipse dixit*. The fact, however, is that, in spite of its boasts and pretensions, if we should deduct from the intellectual forces of modern times, especially of the last half century, the minds that have applied themselves solely to the practical sciences, we would find that the residue leaves us nothing but the crudest intellectual plans which the world has yet witnessed. We need hardly wonder, then, that when we come to the field of hermeneutics we meet with all sorts of strange conclusions and perversions of truth. We encounter the wildest and most fanciful theories as interpretations of Holy Scripture, and, worst of all, these theories resting on no foundation deeper than the imagination of the theorist. And shallow minds take to coddling and adulation of the silly theorist, where reprimand and rebuke would be the proper remedy for the unwarranted presumption. What can be more absurd than the notion that the twentieth century is in a better position to pass judgment on the surroundings, circumstances, origin and meaning of the words of Christ and His Apostles than any preceding age? Yet, like the advanced Protestant world, so assured are the modernists of this that they do not hesitate to put the critic's imagination in the place of the magisterium ecclesiae and the Protestant principle of private judgment in the chair of the ecclesia docens.

This perversion of all order as well as of intellect seems to have resulted from the broad concessions made to the agnostic philosophy. The real problem with the modernist seems to have been how to admit the agnostic position and in the face of this admission retain Christianity. Their attempt to solve this insoluble problem seems to have involved the modernist in all his strange entanglements. How retain faith in the unknowable? How preserve Christianity to mankind when the entire Christian system was placed by modern philosophy outside the boundaries of knowledge? This was the

problem which seems to have confronted these excellent men. And, strange to say, instead of undertaking the simple task of demonstrating the absurdity of the agnostic position from a philosophic as well as from religious standpoint, they seemed to have accepted the agnostic terms. That men who have any claims or pretensions to philosophy should consider seriously the acceptance of so preposterous an absurdity, which even Frederick Harrison exposed so easily, is difficult to understand. That they should surrender to agnosticism so far as to undertake to make terms with it is incomprehensible in any other view than that they were overawed by the name of Kant. Kant, it is true, never heard of agnosticism. It is even taking an unfair advantage of Kant to invoke his name as one of its special patrons. The placing of the Kantian metaphysics as the corner-stone of the agnostic edifice and the placing of the entire system of philosophic exclusion under the ægis of Kant's name was a result of which the Konigsberg philosopher never dreamed. It is true, indeed, that the only logical feature of agnosticism is its claim that it is derived from Kant's principles. But doubtless Kant, were he living to-day, would as vehemently reject agnosticism as he labored to counteract the effect of his own principles during his lifetime. The agnostics know the value of a name, and they have not hesitated to invoke Kant's in season and out of season, and it is doubtless the prestige of his name that induced the modernist to make concessions to the philosophy of exclusion. It is for this reason, as well as for the reason that agnosticism is logically traceable directly to the Kantian principles that the real refutation of agnosticism involves a refutation of the Kantian doctrines. The mere routing of Lang and Huxley and Spencer will not suffice. Lang would doubtless repudiate the notion that he was a philosopher in any true sense of the term. Huxley knew less—far less—even about philosophy than he knew about science, and the extent of his possessions there we can gather from the fact that when the world begins to take inventory and make appraisal of the scientific estate which he has bequeathed to it, the entire sum of knowledge by which it will find itself enriched will be some rose-colored rhetoric on the blessings of science and some fire-colored rhetoric on the evils of religion. Spencer repudiated Kant with disdain and even spurned the compliment that his thoughts ran along the same groove as that of the German philosopher. He gave us the philosophy of agnosticism and with Lang, Huxley and others gave us the name and the thing; but as his philosophy implied that we could never know anything until we first knew something—which was rather a hard saying—the later agnostic wisely rejects the whole school of founders of the doctrine and falls back on the more substantial

authority of Kant. The agnostic of to-day is keen enough to perceive the shallowness of the founders and have grown ashamed of appealing to such patrons. Consequently, in order to give the cult importance and dignity it has been the fashion of late years to appeal to Kant as the father and founder of agnosticism. Little did Kant dream that he was opening the door to a train of evils compared with which the idealism of Berkeley and the skepticism of Hume, both of which metaphysical doctrines were intended at least to refute sound reasoning and solid philosophy. That he refuted Berkeley is not very clear. That he maintained the principle of causality so staunchly and valiantly in a refutation of Hume seems to some to atone for the manner of its maintenance. If it rests on no surer basis than the deduction of his other categories, the intention will hardly cancel the false principle. The refutation of Kant is yet to be written, and it is one of the imperative works of our time. Since Max Müller's translation of the Critique of pure reason—over a quarter of a century ago—the philosophy of Kant has been steadily gaining ground even with English-speaking peoples. It is now the Lingua Franca of all modern philosophy. In spite of its obscurities of thought and greater obscurities of language, in spite of its contradictions and changes, in spite of the fact that it is a *terra incognita*—nay, even on account of it—to the average modern philosopher, the Critique of pure reason and its conclusions are the scales to which philosophers of every school bring their ideas to obtain the knowledge of their real weight. Hence side by side with the revival of the scholastic philosophy must go the exposition of the Kantian errors. How necessary this is can be seen by the simple fact that within the very bosom of the Church Kant's principles, working through agnosticism, would give us an eviscerated Christianity and so completely humanized a Christ that He does not rise above the level of the modern Sir Rama Krishna.

Simon FitzSimons.

Lima, N. Y.

PORTUGAL, PARAGUAY AND POMBAL'S SUCCESSORS.

THE poet's tale of the destruction of Acadia has brought to many an eye the tear of sympathy. It was a colossal crime, almost as black in its inception and the mode of its execution as the massacre of Glencoe. But there was yet a blacker one, and one still more colossal in its dimensions, as yet unsung of any poet—a tale as sad and heartrending as the destruction of Niobe's children. The epic of the ruin of the Jesuit Reductions in Paraguay has yet to be written, and when it is penned the name of Pombal will loom through it as darkly as that of "the rugged Pyrrhus" in the sack of Ilium.

Portugal was a great world-power for centuries—the rival and at times the superior of Spain. It was great in the path of discovery, great in its colonies, great in its literature and its arts, great in its rulers very often—great in most things that shed honor, renown and prosperity on a country—until came Pombal. He began by ruining Paraguay and he ended by ruining Portugal. The crime and confusion which startle the world to-day are the direct heritage of the ascendancy gained by Pombal over the weak King, Joseph Emmanuel I.

The Marquis of Pombal's family name was Carvalho Melho, or more familiarly Carvalho—an old and turbulent Lusitanian house which terrorized the hilly country where it had its *habitat* for many generations. His Christian name was Sebastian Joseph. He enjoyed the title of Count of Œyras as well as that of Marquis. He inherited all the reckless bravery of a race as daring as any of the robber Roman nobles of the Middle Ages, and with the daring of the freebooter, the cunning of the tricky gamester. He was a student and afterward a soldier, and later became a courtier and an adept in political and social intrigues. He soon became inspired with an ambition to become a Machiavelli, or rather a ruler of Kings like Richelieu and Ximenes. A visit to England on a political mission had given him an opportunity of studying British institutions and traditions of the art of ruling a State. He conceived a great admiration for the British system, and became inspired with the ambition to Anglicize the political institutions of his own country.

It is marvelously strange that so keen an observer could have failed to note that the Anglo-Saxon temperament and the Portuguese differed as widely as the poles, or to reflect that the institutions of a country are the natural outcome of the people's temperament and national traditions and psychology. It was a fatal mistake. A treaty of commerce with England had brought a British representative to Lisbon in the person of Mr. Methuen. He soon had the

Court of Portugal dependent on the Court of St. James in all its external policy, and the manners of London began to be imitated in the vogue of the nobles and merchants of the capital by the Tagus. Such was the situation long before Pombal came on the scene, and his visit to England made him the more enamored of the exotic Constitution, so little adapted to a people of fiery blood and unstable temper. The connection formed between the house of Braganza and the house of Brunswick, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, culminated when French and British armies desolated Portugal and drenched its soil with the blood of a Catholic people who were hated by either army, the one chiefly Protestant, the other chiefly infidel.

An English commentator on Junot's laudation of his troops in the Portuguese compaign remarks that he did not enumerate among their triumphs the outrages committed upon the women. The nunneries, he says, were broken open, and the inmates equally the victims of the cruelty and lust of the French soldiers. It is true. This was the price Portugal had to pay for Pombal's fondness for England, because out of that connection came the events which brought the English armies into the Peninsula. The French armies were sent in there to sever the old connection and strike a blow at England through her ally. But the critic who made the comment penned no reference whatever to the violation of the nunneries by the British officers, as related in the history of the campaign of Sir John Moore in Spain and Portugal by Sir R. K. Porter. This historian seems to take a keen delight in trying to excuse the libertinism of the British by charging the natives with similar crimes, inasmuch as he speaks of their being introduced, in Lisbon, to "idle monks and amorous devotees, meretricious dances and obscene songs." Then he goes on to particularize, saying:

"On the Portuguese frontiers the fair inhabitants of a few nunneries did not even keep a threshold between our curiosity and their seclusion. We found as free ingress into their cells as if we had been a regiment of confessors. Their veils were laid aside, their holy abstinence neglected; and adventures truly romantic ensued. I fancy the history of Rousseau's Nun was here realized in a hundred instances; and could those lovely forsworns have seen any prospect of safety by flight, I believe many of our officers would have a daughter of the Church added to his baggage."

Sir R. K. Porter—a truly British paragon of modern knighthood, by his own confession—did not sign his name to the history in which this confession appeared. But the reviewers of his book in the press gave it without hesitation. It was an open secret that Porter was the author of the History of Sir John Moore's Campaign.

To understand the ease with which the British troops gained possession of churches and convents in Spain and Portugal during the Peninsular war, it must be borne in mind that they came as friends and allies, while the French, on the contrary, came, in the name of liberty, to drive out Portuguese tyranny and substitute Napoleonic "almighty authority," as Junot, Duke of Abrantes, blasphemously proclaimed. When the Portuguese resisted, they destroyed their towns, sacked their churches, broke open their convents and violated their inmates. The English abused the trust reposed in them by profaning the sanctity of the convents in many places, the terrified inmates perceiving the hopelessness of resistance to such powerful auxiliaries and dreading that if they made trouble about their wrongs they might injure the cause of their country and be the means of having the yoke of the French permanently fastened around its neck.

But it was well understood in those days that when a country was made the theatre of war the rule that to the victors belong the spoils was to supersede the rule of morality and law. The lives and the honor of the inhabitants became part of the spoils. British officers encouraged their men, when leading on the storming columns, as at Badajos, by the hope of loot and enjoyment of female beauty. "Booty and beauty" was the watchword of Pakenham's men as they were being led on to the attack at New Orleans, it was commonly reported. Sir Jonah Barrington, Mr. Plowden and other historians of the insurrection in Ireland in the year 1798 testify to the enormous extent to which the outraging of women by the British troops, officers as well as privates, prevailed while the country was under martial law. Mr. Plowden states that:

"It has been boasted by officers of rank that, within certain large districts, a woman had not been left undefiled; and upon observation, in answer, that the sex must then have been very complying, the reply was that the bayonet removed all squeamishness. A lady of fashion, having in conversation been questioned as to the difference in conduct in this respect between the military and the rebels, attributed it, in disgust to 'a want of gallantry' in the Croppies (rebels)."

Mr. Plowden tells this somewhat startling story as an example of the general feelings and professions at the time upon these horrid subjects. Even the wives of military officers regarded with indifference the conduct of their husbands and the men they commanded toward the women whom the calamities of war placed at their mercy. The memoirs of the Duchess of Abrantes, Junot's spouse, prove clearly enough that French officers' wives looked upon such conduct as a matter of course; and on the whole there is reason to believe that

the French behaved more courteously and with more consideration toward the weaker sex, in the Peninsular campaigns, than did the British, who came to "protect" them.

The testimony of Sir R. Porter shows plainly enough that though both Spaniards and Portuguese hated the French with the most ferocious hate that an outraged people can feel, they hated the British only one degree less. The reason is plain enough. Their officers could hardly forbear from affronting the religion of the people, even when assisting in the churches during the celebration of "Te Deums" for victory. Their reputation traveled before them from Portugal into Spain, and they were everywhere received with coldness if not with contempt. Sir R. Porter gives some striking examples of this attitude—one relating to the entrance of Sir John Moore's army into Alcantara, on the retreat toward Corunna:

"With such sentiments, such respect and cordiality for the inhabitants did we enter Alcantara. But the governor proved a beast—a vulgar, uncivil animal, with little power to serve us and less inclination. He was asleep when we called on him. Indeed, all seemed asleep to the feelings we brought along with us. They received us with the coldness of men showing us they were resolved ever to consider us as strangers, and treated us with an inhospitality they durst not have ventured had they not believed us to be friends."

In all probability the authorities of Alcantara had heard of the way those "friends" had behaved in the Portuguese cities and towns toward the nuns and the vile terms in which they spoke of the Catholic religion—idolatry, baneful superstition, mummery and such like insulting phrases. We may well believe that writers who used such language are not to be believed when they set to work to show that the fruits of Catholic teaching and Catholic discipline in the priesthood, the monasteries and the convents were laxity, immorality and disregard of solemn vows. It is a curious circumstance that while Sir R. Porter told of these "gallantries" among the nuns, on the part of his countrymen in Sir John Moore's army, he did not name any place or any persons. "On the Portuguese frontier" is not a very definite phrase. That frontier is nearly the entire length of the Iberian Peninsula, and is studded with many cities, towns and villages. To put it plainly, we believe the author of this calumny was neither a gentleman nor a credible historian—for no gentleman would approve of ruffianly conduct on the part of either officers or privates of the British army, while he makes of it a ribald jest. Stories of this kind bore both immediate and remote fruit in England. They stiffened the resistance of the Tories to the demand for Catholic emancipation, and delayed it for a quarter of a century, and they prepared the rabble for the assaults on churches and convents

in Bristol, Liverpool and other places, when Spooner, a rabid English member of Parliament, brought in his bill for the inspection of convents. The cry of "No Popery" raised by little Lord John Russell in his Durham Letter and in Spooner's annual bills found lurid expression in the flames that consumed church and convent in many parts of England at that period, and fatal expression in the many lives that were lost in the defense of the priests' and Sisters' abodes, chiefly those of humble Irishmen.

Thus the evil results of Pombal's pro-English policy worked themselves out in the moral and material ruin of his country, for the time being. It brought on the curse of French invasion, and it brought on the scarcely less sinister blight of English help. So much for its results in Europe. On the American Continent, on the other hand, consequences no less disastrous to Portugal and religion eventuated from it.

It would require a tome of writing to tell the story of the ruin of Paraguay. It was a tragedy as extensive and as poignant in its accompaniments as that of the partition and downfall of Poland. Pombal began his war on the Jesuits by negotiating for a barter of the Portuguese colony of San Sagramento, on the Rio de la Plata, a rich and fertile place, for the barren settlements of Spain in Paraguay and Uruguay. Though the soil was poor and unfruitful, it was believed to be rich in minerals and metals, and the precious metals especially. Hence the cupidity of the Portuguese Governor of Rio Janeiro, Gomez d'Andrada, led him to believe that in negotiating for an exchange, as proposed by the Prime Minister, he was promoting the material interests of the settlement and the Crown in the most practical way. The exchange was effected. It involved the ejectment of thirty thousand Indians in order to clear the soil for the operations of the intended gold seekers. Heartrending scenes attended the effectuation of this inhuman purpose. The population was mostly Mestizo—Indians of Spanish blood. To make this population Christian and civilized the Jesuit Fathers had labored for many years, and with the most satisfactory results. Now they were to behold all their patient work undone. The Indians, despairing, turned to them for guidance when the decisive hour came, and the fathers counselled patience when resistance would mean only destruction. They led the heart-broken natives away from the scene of their labors and their sorrows, and saw them settled in a region beyond the coveted but illusory gold fields. While they strove to console them in their trials, they could not but condemn the cruelty which had consigned the helpless Indians to the doom of the exile. But the enemies of the Jesuits saw here an opening for the beginning of the war that Pombal had determined

on. They sent agents among the Indians to whisper suspicions of the Black Robes' disinterestedness in counselling surrender of the soil by its occupants, whom prescription had made owners. Some of the tribes were maddened by these stories, and flew to arms. They swooped down upon the settlements and destroyed the buildings. The Jesuits were forced to fly, and the great work of civilization among the aborigines of Paraguay was forever undone.

This was Pombal's first stroke; the next one was even more deadly. He got up a pamphlet depicting the Jesuits as the tyrants of the New World, whose daring ambition was to unite all the Spanish colonies in South America into an empire and place the crown on the head of a lay brother, who was to be recognized as emperor, with the title Nicholas the First. Accusations of the most obnoxious character were piled up against the order; they were represented as conspirators against governments, against human society, against liberty, against civil law—the enemies, in short, of civilization; and it was necessary for the general safety that they be driven out and destroyed. This fearful indictment was printed by thousands and scattered broadcast over Spain and Portugal by the secret emissaries of Pombal.

Whatever its reception in Portugal, it did not fare well in Spain. The King caused inquiries to be made of the Spanish Governor of Paraguay regarding the allegations formulated by Pombal. It was soon ascertained that there was not a scintilla of truth in the statements about the new empire and the supposed emperor. It was found that the Jesuits had made great conquests for religion and civilization, and their memory was blessed instead of being execrated. So it was reported to the King, and so, accordingly, the lying work of Pombal was ordered to be publicly burned in Madrid by the State executioner.

But Pombal was successful in other directions, if he had lost the game as far as Spain was concerned. He had counted on resistance by the Jesuits in Paraguay. Their submission was a surprise to him, and he construed it wrongly. He believed he had cowed the Jesuits; the storm that bends the bough may laugh as it rushes on, but it is not the victor, for soon the bough, resilient, springs back into its place. So with the Jesuits and Pombal in South America. Deceived by the apparent submission there, he bethought him that it would crown his success were he to carry the war into Europe. Benedict XIV. was at this juncture the occupant of the Papal chair. He was a Liberal of the Liberals, and a great friend of the Jesuit Order. But his minister and confidant, Cardinal Passionei, was of a different mind. He loved not religious orders, especially that of the sons of Loyola. A Capuchin came forward, just when he was

wanted by men like Pombal, with a book in French, signed "Norbert," against the Jesuits in India, under the title "Historical Memoirs upon the Affairs of the Jesuits." It was as full of lies as the famous "Senate Document No. 190" of our days, concerning the Spanish friars in the Philippines. The book was censured by the Holy Office, but, on the author's appeal to the Holy Father, Passionei got the censure withdrawn. But the Jesuits had powerful friends as well as tenacious enemies, and the contest started by Pombal and "Norbert" was prolonged ere the Pope yielded to Pombal's prayer for a decree of reformation of the order in Portugal. The Pope was then near his death, and his power of resistance fast ebbing away. He signed the decree, believing that the investigation demanded would fully exonerate the society. Instead of being confined to Portugal as requested, the inquiry was extended to the whole world, wherever a Jesuit found a field of labor. The Cardinal Saldanha, a friend of Pombal's and an enemy of the order, was appointed judge, and Pombal acted as accuser, witness and executioner, like that British officer in Ireland who at the time of the '98 insurrection was called "the walking gallows." The predetermined happened. Without being given a hearing in their own defense, the Jesuits were condemned and interdicted as far as Portugal was concerned. But when Pope Benedict died his successor, Pope Clement XIII., listened to the pleading of the Jesuits' general, Father Lorenzo Ricci, for a reopening of the case and a hearing for the defense. The appeal was successful. To the judgment of a Papal congregation the affairs of the Jesuits were submitted, and the result was an acquittal.

This rebuke was a blow to Pombal, but he was a man who could wait for his revenge. It came in a little while when an attempt was made on the life of King Joseph because, it was said, of an illicit amour with the wife of one of his chief courtiers, the Marquis of Tavora. The nobleman was too powerful for Pombal openly to proceed against on the basis of mere suspicion, but he bided his time. When he had artfully prepared the King's mind by means of fears for his safety, he got him to consent to a bold stroke. The whole family of the Tavoras, men and women, were seized and imprisoned on suspicion of being accessories to the attempt on the King; with them the Duke of Aviero, a relative. They were put on trial by Pombal, who presided as judge as well as packed the jury. The Duke was put on the rack, and under the torture made an avowal of guilt, as well as an implication of the Jesuits. This avowal, wrung from him by pain, he retracted when he recovered his senses, but it was enough for Pombal's purposes. The whole family were given over to the torturer, the headsman and the hang-

man. On the day before the completion of the tragedy action was taken against the Jesuits. A persecution as fierce as Nero's was at once begun in their regard. All over Portugal, Goa, Brazil and Paraguay the members were seized, flung into prison, sent to the rack and the scaffold. Fifteen hundred victims fell before the fiery tempest. Against the horror of these proceedings the Pope vainly protested and threatened. Pombal had tasted blood, and he was eager to drink his fill. He was supported by a large part of the secular clergy and the Bishops in Portugal, too fatuous to see, in their hatred of the Jesuits, that the attack was on the Church and the authority of the Papacy. The results of their weak action are perceptible in the state of the Church and the state of civil society in Portugal to-day. Pombal's rule was more fatal to the Church and the country than that of Combes in France. And not only was it fatal to his own country, but it immediately began to bear fruit in France. The epoch of the Jansenists, the Encyclopædists and the philosophers began when the bloody havoc among the Jesuits had done its work. But the author of all this horror did not escape Nemesis. When his patron, Joseph I., died his reign of triumph came to an end. The King's daughter, Maria I., succeeded, and she had no liking and no need for a war on religion or on any religious order. There came an immediate change. Pombal's antagonists were not slow to avail themselves of it. He was accused of high crimes and abuse of his power, was brought to trial and convicted, but his life was spared. He died in exile, five years after the death of his tool and sovereign, the weak and dissolute Joseph; and he died, moreover, penitent and imploring the blessing of the Church which he had so savagely outraged, and which is always glad to welcome back sinners like him once they show they are sincerely contrite.

But contrition and remorse could not undo the evil and the ruin his mistaken policy with regard to England had brought upon his country in the past and was destined to bring to it in the approximate future.

Napoleon's hatred of England amounted almost to an insanity. It was this feeling that led him on to the invasion of Portugal and Spain. English influence had been paramount in Portugal ever since Pombal's time, and Napoleon thought he could strike at England and William Pitt more easily by sending an army over the Pyrenees than by attempting to land one in Ireland, as he had formerly prepared to do, but at the last moment decided not to do, but to throw one into Egypt instead. The Portuguese Court heard of his preparations from the English Minister, and it was then and there determined to avert the destruction of the dynasty which

Napoleon contemplated by having the Prince of Brazil, then Regent, retire to his vast dominions across the ocean, where he could remain in perfect security as long as he pleased. The whole royal family determined to accompany him, as Pitt's agent in France had learned of a secret treaty between the Spanish Court and that of Fontainebleau, under which the partition of Portugal and its absorption into the French Empire were agreed upon in return for French assistance to the Spanish monarchy in other directions. Napoleon did not anticipate that the royal family would think of quitting Portugal; he rather counted on them easily falling into his trap, as we find from his conversations with Madam Junot, the wife of his ambassador and commander-in-chief in Portugal. Here he is found giving that clever but not over virtuous lady the most minute directions as to her attitude and language toward the ladies of the royal family and the religious sentiments of the Portuguese. It is to be observed that owing to the onslaughts on the Church made by Pombal respect for religion, once so marked a characteristic of the Portuguese, had declined immensely, especially in the large cities and towns. Atheism and Freemasonry were rife in the universities, colleges and schools; there was insincerity even in the Church, in places; religion, indeed, was at a very low ebb, save in the rural regions. There was no press to point out the dangers of the situation—for under Pombal's iron rule nothing could be printed, not even a book or a pamphlet intended for the writer's own circle, that did not pass under the scrutiny of the official censors who were planted in every considerable centre. The author of a work called "The Portuguese Observer," published soon after Junot's army had been driven out of Portugal, affirms that for the last century—this was in the year 1809—there has appeared scarcely any book of history or travel published in the country, and that whatever literature was produced during that period existed in manuscript in private hands. But what most interests Catholics is the condition of the religious houses during that gloomy period. Is it true that English officers, as boasted by the unconscionable libertine whom we have quoted, had no difficulty in gaining admission to the cells of the Sisters in various places and that as many as a hundred of them had willingly submitted to dishonor at the hands of English "officers and gentlemen?" This is a very interesting question indeed, and the references to the behavior of the French that we find in "The Portuguese Observer" help us to decide it and bring the conviction that those English *friends* of the Portuguese, those paragons of valor and chivalry, were besides being ruffians and libertines most abominable liars!

The first reference we meet is the statement that when the troops

of Junot entered Lisbon "all persons in the great convents of Jesus, the Paulistas and S. Francisco da Cidade who had any relations by whom they could be housed were ordered to turn out, that the French soldiers might be quartered in their apartments." The next: "The troops, as they continued to arrive, were quartered in all the convents, and their women with them, as if to insult the religious feelings of the people." Famine, even in the great city of Lisbon, almost immediately followed on its seizure by the French and the reign of plunder which then began by Napoleon's robber hordes. The author gives us some glimpses of the horrors of the time: "Whole families," he wrote, "were suddenly reduced to poverty and absolute want. All who depended for employment and subsistence on foreign trade were now destitute. Their trinkets went first; whatever else was salable followed; these things were sold at half their value, while the price of food was daily augmenting. Persons who had lived in plenty and respectability were seen publicly asking alms, and women hitherto of unblemished virtue walked the streets offering themselves to prostitution, that the mother might obtain bread for her starving children, the daughter for her starving parents."

Driven to desperation by the outrageous proceedings of Junot, Kellerman, Loison and other French commanders, the Portuguese populations both in town and country, rose up against their persecutors, and several fierce battles between the undisciplined and the disciplined resulted in the burning and levelling of many cities and villages. A particularly stubborn resistance was shown by the allied Spanish and Portuguese outside the city of Evora, and when the place was at length captured by the French it was at a loss of three thousand men. Then, inflamed by this enormous loss, the French troops were let loose upon the citizens. The city was given over to pillage and the inhabitants to massacre. Nine hundred persons were butchered in the streets and even in the churches in which they had sought sanctuary. Men, women and children indiscriminately fell by the sword and the bayonet. Thirty-eight priests, as well as the Bishop of Maranham, were slain along with the rest. The convents were broken open and the Sisters were equally made the victims of the soldiers' cruelty and their lust. So says "The Portuguese Observer." This means that the nuns did not submit to brutality without making all the resistance feeble women could make, and so proves that the anonymous British historian was a slanderer as well as a brute.

It is little wonder that the British Government put forth extraordinary efforts to gain the victory in the Peninsular War. It had a monopoly of the trade with Portugal as well as a very large share

of that of Spain. Half the merchandise in the city of Lisbon was, at the outbreak of hostilities, of British manufacture. Junot gave orders that all this should be confiscated and burned, but he soon found that this measure was impracticable, since every shop and every private house contained the products of English factories, in dress, in furniture, in jewelry and hundreds of other things. Thus the British alliance, or protection, brought to the Portuguese much the same sort of results as it did to Ireland. The destruction of their native industries was one of these; the filching of the fair fame of its people another. The policy of Pombal was modelled on that of the British Tory Ministers. It fastened illiteracy on the country, as well as industrial depression. It prevented the growth of a public press and a public spirit. It had all the vices, but not a single one of the virtues of the Bourbons in France. Finally, it brought on the scourge of foreign invasion, the ruin of the country, the slaughter and the violation of its sons and daughters. Such have invariably been the consequences of all statesmanship based on a principle of persecution of God and the ministers of God.

It would not be proper to take leave of this most painful chapter of history without contrasting the evidence offered by this English officer, and the malice which blinds him to his own dishonor in giving it publicity, with the statements put forward by Sir Archibald Alison in his "History of Europe" regarding atrocities committed in Portugal by the British troops. Atrocities, he admits, were committed, not on the enemy, but on the people whom the British had come to protect from the French; but he says these were the work chiefly of "wild Irish" levies. Mark this statement, and remember that Wellington, the victor of Waterloo, ascribed his victory there in great part to the "steadiness" of the raw Irish levies who came marching to the field of slaughter to the airs of "The Young May Moon" and "The Girl I Left Behind Me" and stood in square as steady as veterans all day long while Ney's cuirassiers charged up to their levelled bayonets taunting them and firing pistols in their faces in the vain hope to make disorder in the ranks and so break the square. There was only one Irish regiment, as appears from Alison's history, in the forces which took part in the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos—the Eighty-eighth. When these towns were carried by assault, the scenes of murder, outrage on women and drunkenness in the streets, when the infuriated soldiery flung off all control of generals and officers were unparalleled since the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. Everywhere in describing and at the same time striving to palliate and minimize them, Alison refers to the drunken rabble of military as British—that is, English and Scotch—and says they gave way to their national vice, drunken-

ness, in a way to make all decent people ashamed. In thus placing the blame where it properly belonged, the historian evidently forgot for the moment that he had previously attempted to make "the wild Irish" the scapegoats for the dreadful sins of the whole British host. These two places, Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, form the blackest spots for deviltry in the horrors of war since the sack of Magdeburg, and the perpetrators of that deviltry, whose fury Wellington himself did not dare to attempt to check for three entire days, until the ruffian rabble had exhausted itself in its orgie of drunkenness, lust and robbery, were British regiments all save one.

During the many years that the Peninsular War dragged on, the interests of religion suffered irreparable loss in both countries. Convents and monasteries and churches were seized and occupied by brutal troops, the one part pretending to come as friends to save the inhabitants from the oppressions of the French, the other as the protectors of the national religion from heretical invaders. So said Junot in one of his bombastic proclamations to the Portuguese, bidding them to "beware of the English heretics, who sought equally to debase their country and destroy their religion." Worse than either of these enormous crimes was the indiscriminate blackening of the national character which the tales of such "officers and gentlemen" effected in Great Britain. The men of Portugal were commonly branded as poltroons and assassins, the clergy and the religious Sisterhoods as lazy, lascivious, and a disgrace to true religion—in fact, while they were usually referred to as idolators, their moral behavior as painted by these unscrupulous chroniclers was represented as quite in keeping with the fetishism of the worshipers of images and evil spirits. The British acted toward the people of Spain and Portugal precisely as they did toward Ireland. They robbed them of their good name as a preparation to the process of despoiling them of their property and an effort to despoil them of the most precious possession of all, their ancient faith.

As long as Portugal remained truly Catholic she was truly great. She had earned for herself the title of "Most Faithful Kingdom." She was enabled to plant the banner of the Cross over South America, over a great part of India and Africa; she was able to take part in the expulsion of the Moorish hordes from the Peninsula. Her poets, her artists, her scientific men, her navigators were unsurpassed in genius by those of any nation, contemporary or of the past. The evil genius of one man was able to undo the fruits of centuries of glory. What an awful lesson in the evils of impiety and sacrilege!

The spiritual condition of Portugal at the present time is low indeed. The faith is held in all its fullness by the women of the

kingdom. In all Catholic countries the Church possesses its most steadfast adherents in the ranks of the gentle sex. But as for the men, there is little that is consoling to be said. Freemasonry, infidelity, the socialistic propaganda, immorality, the yellowest of "yellow" journalism—all these portents of "modernism" in actual operation have produced a woful chaos in the body politic. A dreadful outbreak of anti-clericalism—a seismic sympathy, so to speak, with the upheaval in France—preceded the political fever which culminated in the murder of the King and Crown Prince. This anti-clerical movement was fed chiefly from the schools of the higher classes and the medical colleges. In these the teachers are chiefly atheists, materialists and socialist doctrinaires. The great University of Coimbra—the only one in the country—possesses a number of rabid anti-clericals among its teaching staff. So, too, with the public schools. Despite the fact that the Catholic religion is the established one in Portugal, the public school system is honeycombed with irreligion and infidelity, as far as its teachers are concerned. A startling proof of this anomaly was given not long ago, when a number of the pupils of the public schools in Lisbon and Oporto, with the connivance of the teachers, began to hold public meetings at which rabid anti-clerical resolutions were passed in sympathy with the propaganda then going on in Parliament and throughout the press and the municipalities.. This agitation had the hardly concealed approval of successive Ministries. It was said, indeed, that some of the worst articles against the priests and religious orders were written by an ex-Prime Minister. The seeds thus sown in time produced a crop of hate, but not exactly of the sort intended by the sower. The magicians might conjure up the fiend of the storm, but could not guide the course of the levin bolt. The teachers of revolt against God did not, probably, contemplate that their lessons should take effect in the shape of bullets aimed at the royal family, but it is the experience of all history that those who do impart such lessons do but teach bloody instructions, which, being taught, return again to plague the inventor.

Portugal, like Servia and Montenegro, does not take kindly to the constitutional method in government. The system was only established in 1826, and the political intrigues of the various parties at length brought on a state of chaos from which there was but one way out—the way the late King took, at Franco's advice, with such terrible consequences. The parallel with Servia is confirmed by the fact that the government dare not seek to bring to murder the regicides, nor even to hint at having them arrested or prosecuted. A further proof of the weakness of the present government was afforded in Parliament a short time ago when one of the Republican

leaders boldly told the Ministry that if the government was not economic in expenditures and liberal in its measures, from the Republican standpoint of liberality, his party would organize a new revolution. The hand of the State is paralyzed as well as the arm of justice, else no one would dare to utter such a threat in the legislature. There is rottenness in every department of the public service, honeycombed as it is by Freemasonry, infidelity and the preachings of assassination.

It is impossible to withhold one's pity for that brave and noble lady, the Queen mother. Her sorrows are similar to those of the legendary Niobe or the stricken Hecuba of Troy, with her husband and son slain in her very arms, while she, like a true Roman, sought to shield them with her own person from the cruel bullets of the murderers. To make the tragedy all the more appalling, she had been all her lifetime engaged in works of charity and beneficence—the heroic nurse of the fever-stricken, the bold swimmer who had more than once struck out with masculine courage and vigor to snatch drowning men from the jaws of death. Hardly less pathetic a figure is that of the boy-King, suddenly called upon to grasp what may well be called a barren sceptre and to wear upon his head a fruitless crown. Yet there is hope for the country in the fact that religion seems to be the dominant influence still with the stricken Queen mother and the young King. The former has always been conspicuous for piety, amongst other womanly virtues; the latter is found proceeding publicly to the Cathedral for the purpose of offering prayers at the tomb of his slaughtered father and brother for the repose of the unhouseled unprepared souls. This is a touching spectacle and ought to impress even his cruel enemies with the sincerity of piety as well as the undaunted spirit of this lad of nineteen, called upon, under such terrible circumstances, to assume a responsibility from which even the soul of an Agamemnon might shrink appalled by the dangers that accompany it. It is a morsel of comfort in a gloomy condition that piety is to be found at the head of a degenerate State. It shows that the spirit of Don Sebastian is not yet extinct in the land of Camoens; and while that spirit lives there is yet hope for Portugal.

John J. O'Shea.

Philadelphia, Pa.

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY WITNESS.

There is Samuel Johnson, born a Protestant, yearning for the Catholic Church, and bursting out into fitful defenses of portions of her doctrine and discipline, yet professing to the last that very Protestantism which could "neither command his affections nor cure his infirmities."—Newman, "Present Position," etc., Lecture II., sec. 3.

I.

THESE few jottings and personal impressions regarding the interior life of the illustrious Dr. Johnson are not intended in the mind of the present writer to pass as religious controversy. Such a purpose, for many and obvious reasons, is furthest removed from him. Yet the subject, though not polemical, is still something more than a mere literary curiosity, for one could as well be indifferent to the religious belief of a dear friend as to that of him who has become as familiar to English students through the fellowship of books as the scenes and faces of childhood. And that this particular phase of Dr. Johnson's personality *is* in reality a living topic, and still matter of strong human interest even after the lapse of a hundred and fifty years, was never more clearly evinced than during the past eighteen months, when not less than three different writers in widely separated quarters of the world directed themselves almost simultaneously to its consideration. An Irish barrister, Mr. Charles T. Waters, was among the first to revive the question by a graceful essay in the *Irish Monthly* of July, 1906. About the same time the English Parliamentarian, Mr. Augustine Birrell, of education bill fame, treated the same aspect of the great man's character in his "happily conceived and happily worded preface" to a new edition of Dr. Johnson's "Prayers and Meditations;" while on this side of the Atlantic an article on Johnson's religious life, substantially a review of the above mentioned "Prayers and Meditations," appeared in the *Ave Maria* of July 14, 1906.

This quasi revival of Johnsonian literature is only another indication of that ingrained longing of an appreciative posterity to know the celebrated men of former ages as they really were—with all their faults as well as their virtues painted in, the former for compassion, the latter for emulation. It is a natural and world-old desire—this craving to explore the inner lives of geniuses. Its indulgence, resulting in the detailed history of some great soul's development, often occasions truer and more fascinating literature than any of that soul's productions in the field of thought or art. Such, thanks to Boswell, has been the destiny of Samuel Johnson, and Macaulay's prophecy reads truer for each succeeding generation: "That kind of fame which is commonly the most transient is, in his case, the

most durable. The reputation of those writings, which he probably expected to be immortal, is every day fading, while those peculiarities of manner and that careless table-talk, the memory of which he probably thought would die with him, are likely to be remembered as long as the English language is spoken in any quarter of the globe." Hence it is that Johnson has a place in the history of developed English literature that is peculiarly his own and disputed by none. By popular acclaim and veneration he stands, personally and as a man, among the very foremost of that glorious galaxy headed by Shakespeare and Milton. Yet the fame of his written works, such as "Rasselas," "The Rambler," "London" and "The Vanity of Human Wishes," is now chiefly confined to the learned and the *connoisseur*.

A careful study of this quaint old philosopher in his shriveled gray wig, scorched at the foretop, shirt which should be at wash, suit of rusty brown, with black worsted stockings that were ill drawn up, and unbuckled shoes that clattered as he walked, has never failed to bring its own reward to those who care to do a little studious digging. New and at times wholly unsuspected beauties will be revealed sparkling away beneath that rough and slovenly exterior, for there was nothing of the grizzly about Johnson but the skin. Undoubtedly one of the most salient and significant lessons from his life story is that of his religious evolution. And the Catholic critic especially will find much to interest, even surprise him, in a close analysis of Johnson's spirituality, because of the marked Catholic atmosphere which permeated it, manifesting itself externally in that well-known bias towards Catholicity of which Newman speaks in his "Idea."

II.

EARLY RELIGIOUS TRAINING.

By birth, training and association Johnson was a High Episcopalian and Tory of the most advanced type, following in this the doctrinal precedent of his father, the bookseller of Litchfield. The first indications of that deeply religious spirit which characterized the future lexicographer appeared in early years, when the strong lineaments of the grown man were easily discernible in the child. The foundations of that rugged Christianity, from which the England of the eighteenth century was to reap such profit, Johnson himself traces to his mother's care and training. "She was a woman," we are told in his biography, "not less renowned for piety than for understanding," and her religious influence was the invisible stilus that wrote large and deep upon his future character. He

never forgot her, as his letters amply testify. This filial devotion is one of the most admirable traits in Johnson's character, and will be recalled with mingled pleasure and emotion every time that "Rasselas" is mentioned. For, in the words of Christopher Worth in the "Noctes Ambrosianae," "never were the expenses of a mother's funeral more gloriously defrayed by son than the funeral of Samuel Johnson's mother by the price of 'Rasselas,' written for the pious purpose of laying her head decently and honorably in the dust."

From his father, however, Johnson was not so happy in his legacy. From him he inherited not only bodily infirmities, but worse still, that demon of hypochondria which pursued and tormented him so cruelly that more than once his powerful mind almost gave way under the strangling clutch of the octopus, especially during the long and cheerless night when he first came to London. This half madness or "vile melancholy," as he termed it, was his most dangerous and life-long assailant. Though he managed to keep it at bay for seventy-five years, yet, like Hamlet, he came out of the conflict with a scar which he carried to the grave. His mother had done all in her power to root out this gloomy tendency while he was yet young, but it was in vain. Nothing discouraged, however, she continued her pious care of the precocious lad with marked assiduity, though not perhaps with the greatest prudence, for the strict evangelical discipline to which she subjected him resulted, as is not at all surprising, in a sort of reaction. This is the doctor's account of it:

"I fell into an inattention to religion, or rather an indifference about it, in my ninth year. The church at Litchfield, in which we had a seat, wanted reparation, so I was to go and find a seat in other churches, and having bad eyes and being awkward about this, I used to go and read in the fields on Sunday. This habit continued until my fourteenth year. . . . I then became a sort of lax *talker* against religion, for I did not so much *think* against it; and this lasted until I went to Oxford, where it would not be tolerated. When at Oxford I took up Law's 'Serious Call to a Holy Life,' expecting to find it a dull book (as such books generally are) and perhaps to laugh at it. But I found Law quite an overmatch for me, and this was the first occasion of my thinking in earnest of religion after I became capable of rational inquiry."

III.

THE TEST.

Thus it would appear that, as with the great Augustine, the turning point in Johnson's spiritual career may be attributed in great

measure to the chance reading of a good book—not in his case St. Paul's Epistles, but Law's "Serious Call." A great change took place in the young student's soul. The solemn truths of God and eternity took a new and stronger hold upon his mind, so that all through youth, manhood and old age his life was remarkable for uprightness, seriousness and integrity of morals. And this becomes all the more remarkable when we pause and recollect that his career during a quarter of a century was spent in an atmosphere so polluted and poisonous to Christian virtue that it is little short of marvelous that he preserved himself from the moral death which overtook so many of his struggling fellow-authors. How he escaped the pitiable fate of his intimate, Richard Savage, is to some a mystery still.

This was assuredly the darkest period of Johnson's life, and about it we know but comparatively little. It was the "long night between two sunny days" when English literature was just emerging from the swaddling bands of servile patronage into the higher stage of mature and robust independence. Its pioneer emancipators, of whom Johnson was the chief and Grub street the rendezvous, led lives that remind one of galley slaves. Total strangers to the academic ease which the much-patronized Pope enjoyed, life for these poor literary hacks was one recurring round of scorn, hope deferred and insult, with little or nothing to vary the grim monotony save swooping bailiffs or an occasional full meal. And yet to them, for the most part unknown or forgotten toilers, may be justly applied by an easy metaphor the proud boast of the Emperor Augustus. If he found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble, then these workmen, with Johnson as master mason, did the same for English literature. But to effect the transformation, they had to work full workdays, often times far into the night. And the wages were such as an ordinary modern laborer would despise as insufficient to keep body and soul together. Yet Johnson issued forth from this furnace of probation with religion and faith unimpaired, though tainted externally with some disagreeable mannerisms, not his by nature, but rather engrafted onto him by these years of indigence and forced association with the vulgar. "During this miserable and obscure portion of his career," writes Thomas B. Shaw in his "Manual," "when he dined in a cellar upon sixpennyworth of meat and a pennyworth of bread, when he signed himself in a note to his employer 'yours *impransus,* S. Johnson,' when his ragged coat and torn shoes made him ashamed to appear at the table of his publisher and caused him to devour his dinner behind a screen, he retained all his native dignity of mind and severe honesty of principle. There is something affecting in the picture of this great and noble mind laboring on through toil and distress which would

have crushed most men and which, though it roughened his manners, only intensified his humanity and augmented his self-respect."

Precisely, for Johnson was of those who are bent, humbled and chastened by adversity, but never broken by it.

IV.

FIRST CONTACT WITH CATHOLIC INFLUENCES.

It was during this general period of Johnson's life that an incident occurred which, in the analysis of events, may explain to no small degree his intimate knowledge of the Catholic Church and consequent affection for her. It was an insignificant circumstance in his variegated career, has been accorded a few columns by his biographer and then dismissed without further notice. But never, as far as we can recollect, has it been considered as having the slightest connection with his leaning towards Catholicity. A Jesuit was concerned, at least indirectly, and we cannot but persuade ourselves that, viewed in the light of a cause, the event had a marked, though perhaps unconscious influence on his mind. We mean his translation and publication of Lobo's "Voyage to Abyssinia."

Father Jerome Lobo was a zealous Jesuit and an eminent missioner of the Portuguese province. Upon the conversion of Segued, Emperor of Abyssinia, to the Catholic faith in 1621, Lobo, together with several others of the society, had been despatched as missioner to the court of the Ethiopian monarch. The results of his Abyssinian experiences the father embodied in his "Relation," of which a French translation appeared in 1728, the same year that Johnson entered Pembroke College, Oxford. The young Oxonian read the work, was captivated by it, and from this French edition made his English translation in 1735. Macaulay erred, therefore, in stating with his usual dogmatism that "he printed a *Latin* book about Abyssinia." It was not a *Latin* book, but a French book, which in turn had been translated from the Portuguese by a certain M. Le Grand. Besides the detailed narrations and descriptions of men, scenes and events which abound in it as in a book of travel, there is of necessity much that is Catholic in the work also, since the author was not only a traveler, but primarily a priest and missioner. Indeed, the second portion of the enlarged Paris edition is largely devoted to doctrinal treatises on such subjects as "The Incarnation," "The Sacraments," "Miracles," "The Blessed Virgin," "The Communion of Saints," "Prayers for the Dead," etc., etc., comprising in all a succinct compendium of Catholicity.

Now, this work and these controversial treatises were to be abridged and rendered into English. To be translated aright they

had first to be understood aright. But with the Catholic Church, *scire est amare* to know her is to love her. Hence, how could it be possible, we argue, for Johnson, already of religious temperament, to read, translate, act as it were sponsor to the world for such a publication and still remain unaffected by the grandeur of those institutions of which he wrote? Impossible! Why, even men like Macaulay, Matthew Arnold and Carlyle were not insensible to the divine beauties of the Catholic religion, though led, we are inclined to suspect, more by their æsthetic than their supernatural instinct. Catholic theology to Matthew Arnold is like one of the great Middle Age cathedrals—in itself a study for a life.[1] The Church's real superiority for him "is in its charm for the imagination—its poetry. I persist in thinking," he says, "that Catholicism has, from this superiority a great future before it; that it will endure while all the Protestant sects (in which I do not include the Church of England) dissolve and perish."[2] This is the poet talking, and from a poetical standpoint. But for stronger and deeper reasons these sanctities of our holy religion must have appealed to Johnson, since besides this natural attraction which they exert upon the minds of men diametrically opposed to her, there would be in him the additional impulse of a knowledge that was almost a theologian's. With him the heart and intellect were affected, too, less sensibly perhaps, but more avowedly than the imagination.

To be sure, there is a passage in the preface to his translation of Lobo which appears, at first sight, to be the work of a man who was anything but friendly to the Catholic Church. But a careful study of the context will show that these strictures are intended more as a particular protest against "the sanguinary zeal" of the Patriarch Oviedo in his dealings with the natives than as a gratuitous declaration of general hostility. These lines were written, moreover, when Johnson was yet a young man with all the exuberance of inexperience. Like Ruskin, whose attitude towards Catholicism bears a striking resemblance to his own, Johnson came to know the Catholic Church better in his maturer years, when his repeated encomiums are a virtual recantation of earlier opinions. Indeed, many of them were specifically retracted, as, for example, the implied condemnation of the Inquisition in the above mentioned preface. This he took back during that long ride in the Harwich stage coach, when in answer to the "fat, elderly gentlewoman" who talked violently against the Roman Catholics and the horrors of the Inquisition,

1 *Vide* "Pagan and Mediæval Religious Sentiment" (Arnold, "Mixed Essays").

2 *Vide* "Irish Catholicism and British Liberalism" (Arnold, "Mixed Essays").

he maintained and defended both Catholics and Inquisition, to the utter astonishment of all the passengers, except Boswell. He, of course, was well aware of Johnson's "tenderness" for the Catholic Church. "False doctrine," claimed the doctor, "should be checked on its first appearance; the civil power should unite with the Church in punishing those who dare to attack the established religion, and such only were punished by the Inquisition."

V.

THE WITNESS TO CATHOLIC DOCTRINE.

From an abundance of like evidence, both internal and external, Dr. Johnson's position as to leading Catholic belief is clearly defined. Whatever the remote cause may have been, whether the Jesuit's book or even Sarpi's "History of the Council of Trent," which he likewise undertook to translate, but never finished, this much is certain, that Johnson possessed an exceptional knowledge of the Catholic Church and her distinctive doctrines, and that because of this close acquaintance he revered and esteemed her as one of the greatest forces in the world. Nor did this admiration remain dormant within him, never reducing itself to external act. On the contrary, his frequent exposition and defense of Catholic beliefs laid him open, even in his own day, to the suspicion of being a "Romanist." So widespread had this belief become that it is reported of one acquaintance, Mr. Langton, that he came to Johnson's grave fully persuaded that he had died a Roman Catholic.

It would indeed be difficult, as a recent writer has remarked, to decide definitely just what aspect of the Church appealed to Johnson most strongly, for his attitude seemed rather to be one of universal sympathy with the whole deposit of her faith and liturgy. Boswell tells us in his immortal biography:

> I had hired a Bohemian as my servant while I remained in London, and, being much pleased with him, I asked Dr. Johnson whether his being a Roman Catholick should prevent my taking him with me to Scotland.
>
> Johnson: Why, no, sir; if he has no objection, you can have none.
>
> Boswell: So, sir, you are no great enemy to the Roman Catholick religion.
>
> Johnson: No more, sir, than to the Presbyterian religion (Boswell was a Presbyterian).
>
> Boswell: You are joking.
>
> Johnson: No, sir; I really think so. Nay, sir, of the two, I prefer the Popish.
>
> Boswell: How so, sir?
>
> Johnson: Why, sir, the Presbyterians have no church, no apostolical ordination.
>
> Boswell: And do you think that absolutely essential, sir?
>
> Johnson: Why, sir, as it was an apostolical institution, I think it dangerous to be without it. . . .
>
> Boswell: What do you think, sir, of Purgatory, as believed by the Roman Catholicks?
>
> Johnson: Why, sir, it is a very harmless doctrine. They are of opinion that the generality of mankind are neither so obstinately wicked as to deserve everlasting punishment, nor so good as to merit being admitted into

the society of blessed spirits; and therefore that God is graciously pleased to allow of a middle state, where they may be purified by certain degrees of suffering. You see, sir, there is nothing unreasonable in this.

Boswell: But then, sir, their Masses for the dead?

Johnson: Why, sir, if it be once established that there are souls in Purgatory, it is as proper to pray for them as for our brethren of mankind who are yet in this life.

Johnson's acceptance of this sublime and consoling doctrine of Purgatory came to him, says the editor of the "Prayers and Meditations," "as it has come to many others—in the hour of his most poignant sorrow." He could not, would not hold the sapless creed of Wordsworth that the grave is the end-all of our affections, and that the pathetic prayers which fall from sorrowing lips are powerless to reach or benefit the dear departed ones. Johnson's diary, on the contrary, reveals the childlike hope and simplicity of his great heart:

Easter-day, 15th April, 1759.—. . . And, O Lord, so far as it may be lawful, I commend unto Thy fatherly goodness my father, brother, wife and mother, beseeching Thee to make them happy, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

Easter-day, Apr. 22, 1764.—. . . I went to church; came in at the first of the psalms, and endeavored to attend the service, which I went through without perturbation. After sermon I recommended Tetty (his dead wife) in a prayer by herself, and my dear father, mother, brother and Bathurst in another. I did it only once, in so far as it might be lawful for me.

The expressions "conditionally," "if it were lawful," "so far as it might be lawful for me," etc., tell their own tale. They are the last traces of his slowly expiring Protestant prejudices.

The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass being once attacked as "idolatrous," "Sir," he cried, "there is no idolatry in the Mass. They (Catholics) believe God to be there, and they worship Him."

Boswell: The worship of the saints?

Johnson: Sir, they do not worship saints: they invoke them; they only ask their prayers.

In answer to the question, "Does not the invocation of the saints suppose *omnipresence* in the saints?" Johnson replied, on another occasion: "No, sir; it supposes only *pluripresence*,[3] and when spirits are divested of matter it seems probable that they should see with more extent than when in an embodied state. There is, therefore, no approach to an invasion of any of the divine attributes in the invocation of the saints. But I think it is will-worship and presumption. I see no command for it, and therefore think it is safer not to practice it."

These last few observations, together with a few others of a like nature regarding the practice of some of these doctrines, are, of

[3] This distinction has called forth the following query from a Protestant editor: ". . . What is the difference, to our bounded reason, between 'pluripresence' and 'omnipresence?'" The only difference is that which exists between the meanings of the Latin words "omnibus locis" and "pluribus locis," and though the extension of "pluribus" may be indefinite, yet this much is certain, it never reached "omnibus."

course, to be expected. They are nothing more than an echo of that one insistent doubt which ran through Johnson's life regarding the Church of Rome—that "obstinate rationality," as he called it, and of which we shall see more later. At the mention of *confession,* "Why," he exclaimed, "I don't know but that is a good thing. The Scripture says 'Confess your faults, one to another,' and the priests confess as well as the laity. Then it must be considered that their absolution is only upon *repentance,* and often upon *penance* also. You think your sins may be forgiven without penance, upon repentance only."

"I thus ventured," says Boswell, "to mention all the common objections against the Roman Catholic Church that I might hear so great a man upon them. What he said is here accurately recorded."

To this, however, it has been objected that he once in an angry mood exclaimed: "In everything in which the Catholics differ from us they are wrong." But by this Johnson was merely fitting the major premise to a minor enunciated in his study on March 21, 1772, when he and Boswell talked confidentially about things Catholic. As it was decided between them that evening "that the Catholics differ from us only on non-essential points," it would follow immediately that the Catholics were wrong only in non-essential points! It must be borne in mind, however, that we do not vouch for the solidity nor the objective truth of these propositions and their conclusion. We prescind entirely from them as such. But Johnson thought them true, however, hence the conclusion, as it flows directly from the premises, is legitimately his and we cite it here as an indication of his mind.

The distance, then, between Johnson and the Catholic Church was by no means as great as some historians would have us believe. Nor does it militate against the force of our deduction that he once befriended and encouraged an unfortunate Benedictine monk who had been induced to apostatize from religion in order to enter the Church of England, for we are convinced that Johnson of his Christian charity would have done the same, indiscriminately, for a stray Mussulman or even a Scotchman, if his destitution were as pressing as the poor man's in question. Then again, Johnson's opinion of such "conversions" is significant and decisive. "A man," he said, "who is converted from Protestantism to Popery may be sincere; he parts with nothing; he is only superadding to what he already had. But a convert from Popery to Protestantism gives up so much of what he has held as sacred as anything that he retains; there is so much *laceration of mind* in such a conversion that it can hardly be sincere and lasting."

This passage has proved a veritable stumbling stone for many of Johnson's editors and devotees. They first hold up their hands in pious horror at the sentiment expressed. Then, the first shock over, they hasten to explain away this fatal candor on the part of their hero and absolve him from the awful suspicion of meaning what he says! But facts are eloquent, mercilessly so, and there is absolutely no necessity for commentary here to elucidate the doctor's meaning. He usually spoke without the slightest hesitation or obscurity, especially when there was question of the Catholic Church. The majority of men, moreover, prefer to form their opinions according to evidence submitted, not receive them second-hand from emendations, which besides being at time woefully inaccurate from an historical point of view, are far from exhibiting that philosophic calm and neutrality which so become the true commentator.

VI.

JOHNSON'S CATHOLIC PRACTICES.

The "old religion" is what Johnson loved to consider the Catholic Church, and he clung so tenaciously to some of her ancient traditions as to excite the sneers and merriment of certain moderns. They have laughed loudest and longest at his rigorously Catholic observance of Lent, with its fasts, abstinences and other such religious "mummeries." Incidents such as the following have furnished rich material for their sarcastic *badinage:*

"It was his custom," writes Boswell, "to observe certain days with a pious abstraction, viz., New Year's Day, the day of his wife's death, Good Friday, Easter Day and his own birthday. . . . On April 18 (being Good Friday) I found him at breakfast in his usual manner upon that day, drinking tea without milk and eating a cross bun to prevent faintness; . . . we went to St. Clement's Church as formerly."

They certainly have good reason to marvel at this who know not the meaning of the word "mortification," and as far as Johnson is concerned, they are perfectly safe in ridiculing him, since the old lion has been dead for over a century. But it reminds one, nevertheless, of a certain fable told by Æsop.

Equally puzzling to this same school must appear those pathetic prayers and resolutions which dot his diary and which are a valuable index of the strict ascetical discipline by which this man of the world endeavored to rule his life. In the "Journal" published after Johnson's life are to be found entries such as the following—entries which he doubtless intended for no human eyes except his own:

Having offered my prayers to God, I will now review the last year . . . O God, grant that I may not misspend or lose the time which Thou shalt yet allow me. . . .

. . . I profess my faith in Jesus: I declare my resolution to obey Him. I implore in the highest act of worship (Holy Communion) grace to keep those resolutions. I hope to rise to a new life this day.

Under another date we read (July 13, 1755):

"Having lived not without an habitual reverence for the Sabbath, yet without that attention to its religious duties which Christianity requires," he resolves:

1. To rise early, and, in order to do it, to go to sleep early on Saturday.
2. To use some extraordinary devotion in the morning.
3. To examine the tenor of my life, and particularly the last week; and to mark my advance in religion or recession from it. (A suggestion of the Ignatian method of self-examination?)

. . .

5. To go to church twice.

. . .

8. To wear off by meditation any worldly soil contracted during the week.

These are fair specimens of those practices of Johnson which have been cried down so vehemently by those whose very vehemence suggests the real cause of their animosity. Their heat makes one suspect that perhaps they felt a twinge of self-reproach and were uneasy under the consciousness. One critic calls them "those pharisaic meditations, with their Popish prayers for old Tetty's soul; their contrite parade about lying in bed on a morning; drinking creamed tea on a fast day; snoring at sermons, and having omitted to ponder well Bel and the Dragon and Tobit and his dog." Others, more sweepingly, characterize the whole business as "superstition—monkish, mediæval superstition." "Superstition?" answers Dr. Horne, the Bishop of Norwich. "What do you mean by 'superstition?' . . . Who shall exactly ascertain to us what superstition is? The Romanist is charged with it by the Church of England man; the Churchman by the Presbyterian, the Presbyterian by the Independent, all by the Deist, and the Deist by the Atheist. With some it is superstitious to pray; with others to receive the Sacrament; with others to believe in God. In some minds it springs from the most amiable disposition in the world—'a pious awe and fear to have offended,' a wish rather to do too much than too little. Such a disposition one loves, and wishes always to find in a friend; and it cannot be disagreeable in the sight of Him who made us. It argues a sensibility of heart, a tenderness of conscience and the fear of God. Let him who finds it not in himself beware lest in flying from superstition he fall into irreligion—and profaneness."

VII.

JOHNSON AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

While Johnson lived irreligion and blasphemy in any form never dared to show their heads in his presence, for more than once they

had felt his iron heel and writhed under the crushing arguments of his virile Christianity. He saw and knew them all. He knew every plea that the champions of atheism, agnosticism, deism, materialism and skepticism could advance, but he counted their systems, individually and collectively, as mere dust when weighed in the balance with the pure gold of Christian philosophy. Against the creeping infidelity to which the eighteenth century was slowly succumbing, and in the midst of its political and religious chaos, where God, as Grattan said, "was a tolerated alien in His own creation," and where every man was his own little King or Parliament, Johnson stood forth a bulwark unshakable for the English nation. It was the time when one-half of continental Europe was applauding the brilliant deism of Voltaire and the other half was dreaming the socialistic dreams of Rousseau. The train laid against the Jesuits and religion had been exploded with spectacular effects by Pombal, Choiseul and Tanucci. The Great Frederick himself was scribbling licentious verses at his Berlin court. Old David Hume, in Scotland, was pointing the way to religious unbelief and skepticism. Gibbon, in England, had just begun his insidious gnawing at the foundations of Christianity,

> Sapping a solemn creed with solemn sneer,
> The lord of irony, that master spell.

But in the midst of it all, in the midst of that turmoil of passionate unbelief and free-thinking which was the natural harbinger of the red saturnalia of 1793, the solitary figure of Johnson stands out in clear perspective. To him the better intellects of England looked as to a representative and exponent of their thought. Nor were they disappointed. Serene and undisturbed by the confusion around him, he still knelt in old St. Clement's Church and adored in spirit and truth that Supreme Being whose name was fast becoming a by-word among men and whose sacred temple was destined, at a not far distant date, to be desecrated by howling Communists and made to serve as the throne room of a painted "Goddess" of Reason!

Truly, it yet remains to be written how far humanity owes it to her sturdy Samuel and his silent, hidden influence, that the horrors of the French Revolution were never anticipated or repeated across the Straits of Dover—a truth which Carlyle doubtless appreciated when he said: "The Church of St. Clement Danes, where Johnson still worshiped in the era of Voltaire, is to me a venerable place."

Of course Johnson's philosophy of life, since it was the generalization of his own checkered experience, took on a somewhat sombre hue. His part in the great drama of life had been a sad one for fifty long years, and hence it is not surprising if at times he seems to have something in common with modern pessimism. With

Schopenhauer, he realized that man lives in the valley of the shadow of death, where encompassing armies of sorrows send their shafts against him from every side. But he differed from Schopenhauer and modern sentimentalists in this—that he had the heartiest contempt for useless whining over it. He was far, too, from accepting George Eliot's shameful solution: "There is but one remedy, my child, for the sad race of men—one grand simultaneous act of suicide." None of this for Johnson! He knew where to lift his eyes for the true remedy. His loadstar was in the eternal, and towards it he constantly tended, despite the fact that his spiritual vision was often dimmed by the intervening mists of melancholy.

The atonement of Jesus Christ and the propitiatory merits of His most precious blood were the two vital principles which above all he had "grappled to his soul" to be his joy in gladness and his comfort in desolation. On such topics he loved to dwell, and page after page of Boswell is taken up with sublime disquisitions on these eternal verities. It would be impracticable within the limits of this present paper to quote even one of these splendid panegyrics in full, where with all the dignity and power of language he discourses on "the great sacrifice of the sins of mankind," "the Paschal Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world" and how "the prophets only proclaimed the will and threatenings of God—Christ fulfilled His justice." Johnson's repeated and emphatic reference to a "universal sacrifice and perpetual propitiation" as the essential requisite of real Christianity cannot but suggest to the Catholic mind the adorable sacrifice of the altar, in which this requisite is formally attained. As for evidence, he used to declare that "we have not such evidence that Cæsar died in the capitol as that Jesus Christ died in the manner related." In short, it is impossible for even the most indifferent reader to peruse ten successive pages of Johnson's life without being struck at every turn of the leaf not only by the strong religious and Catholic cast of his thoughts, but also by their frequent and fearless expression. Like Socrates, he was preëminently a talker. If Gray was the man who never spoke out, then Johnson was assuredly the man who did speak out, and it is only natural that his tongue should utter what his heart felt. For this reason and in the face of so many instances to the contrary, we must confess our inability to understand the meaning of Professor Minto, of Aberdeen, when in his "English Prose Literature" he says: "Though profoundly convinced of the doctrines of religion, he (Johnson) seldom dilates on her 'august solemnities' or the grandeur of her hopes and fears."

It is not less evident also that Johnson was no theorizer or mere speculator in the matter of religious obligations and their bearing

on human conduct. Not only were the broad creeds to be promulgated, but men were to be formed to rectitude as well. To this end, as we have noted from his diary, and as a result of his minature weekly retreat, he had constantly at his disposal a fund of healthy advice for the not unfrequent clients who sought his opinion and direction. Nor was he at all sparing with reproof or correction when the circumstances called for them. These moral precepts, delivered familiarly to the multitudes, have been characterized as "the concentrated essence of common sense." A well-known example of it is his spirited reply to some sanctimonious formalists who were objecting over much to showy dress. "O!" he exclaimed, "let us be found when our Master calls us, ripping, not the lace from our waistcoats, but the spirit of contention from our souls and tongues. . . . Alas! sir, a man who cannot get to heaven in a green coat will not find his way thither the sooner in a gray one."

When there was some moral or fundamental principle at stake, however, he would lower his flag to nobody—not to rank, nor degree, nor station—and there is an amusing description in Piozzi's Memoir highly illustrative of this unswerving adherence to what he knew was right and just. He happened one evening to enter into conversation with a certain gentleman who chanced to be sitting next to him. The subject of divorce was casually introduced, whereupon the indignant moralist, surrounded by an admiring throng, harangued long and eloquently on the indissolubility of the marriage tie, invoking many an anathema upon the guilty heads of those who should dare dissolve what God's law has ordained should end only with the grave. But the *denouement* was reached when he learned that the gentleman whom primarily he had been addressing was none other than the celebrated Lord Bolingbroke, whose divorce from the Lady Diana Spencer had furnished a dainty tidbit for London society. But it made not the slightest difference to Johnson. He would have told Henry VIII. the same to his teeth and willingly followed Fisher and More to the block for it. He even had the courage to do what few men of his time would dare to do—he spontaneously defended the *Jesuits,* and in an eloquent Latin conversation with the Abbé Roffette at Rouen, in 1775, he stigmatized the suppression which the enemies of God had temporarily effected as "a blow to the general power of the Church, and likely to be followed with many and dangerous innovations which might at length become fatal to religion itself, and shake even the foundations of Christianity." Equally fearless, too, was his generous vindication of the pathetic and much maligned Mary, Queen of Scots, whose innocent blood, staining the crown handed down by Elizabeth, pleaded with his upright heart for justice. Johnson's generosity for the

unfortunate Catholic Queen shines forth in the following sentence, taken from an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1760:

"It has now been fashionable," he wrote, "for near half a century to defame and vilify the house of Stuart and to exalt and magnify the reign of Elizabeth. The Stuarts have found few apologists, for the dead cannot pay for praise; and who will, without reward, oppose the tide of popularity? Yet there remains still among us, not wholly extinguished, a zeal for truth, a desire of establishing right in opposition to fashion."

It was this constant championship of truth that forced the hero worshiper of Chelsea to cry out in ecstacy as he enrolled Johnson in his litany of heroes: "Brave old Samuel! Ultimus Romanorum."

To this same spirit of downright honesty that ". . . would not flatter Neptune for his trident or Jove for his power to thunder" is also due in great measure not a few of the harsh judgments that have been expressed of Johnson both at home and abroad. Taine, for example, the great French critic, viewing the English Johnson through French glasses and according to Versailles criteria, could find little, if anything, to admire in him. On the contrary, he marveled exceedingly that the people across the channel should revere so superlatively "that honest pedant; . . . that most grotesque of literary behemoths!" A not improbable reason and explanation of this partisan view is not far to see, however, since from several places in his writings[4] Taine shows unmistakably that his equanimity was disturbed by the severe but richly deserved criticisms which his compatriots, Voltaire and Rousseau, experienced at the hands of Johnson.

But even among his own countrymen there were not wanting some who sneered and cavilled at the "uncouth Hottentot," as they called Johnson. Shrinking from open combat with his massive intellect or intrepid soul, this school of scoffers had recourse to an expedient surely ignoble. Nature, as is sometimes her wont, had hidden her pearl of great price in a vessel whose pristine nobility had been sadly marred by twenty-five years of sharp distress and bitter privation. Against the huge, disease-scarred frame of Johnson, then, and his "tremendous" Grub street manners, these pragmatical wranglers directed their scornful shafts, forgetting, or wilfully ignoring the bitter truth that as Socrates was not less wise for all his ugliness, nor Horace less the Prince of Lyricists for his blinking eye, so Johnson was their intellectual master still, though forced by dire necessity to wipe his fingers on the back of a Newfoundland dog at the exit of a subterraneous cookshop, or standing dinnerless before the windows of a bakery, snuff the odors that were odors to

[4] Taine, "English Literature," Book III., Cap. IX.—passim.

him, but nothing more! "He throws his meat anywhere but down his throat," was the aristocratic gibe of Lord Chesterfield. But what if he did? What if he did not boast to be of those who would rather put their right hand into the fire than be guilty of the slightest breach of epulary ethics? It were far better to sin against every arbitrary law of the drawing room and dining table than to outrage the eternal and immutable laws of God by a system of morality or rather occult Hedonism—such as the same worthy nobleman inculcates in his "Letters to His Son."

Johnson would have dashed both hands—yes, and feet, too—into the fire before writing such shameful "stuff" as is contained in some of these epistles, notably those to Paris. "There was no occasion," wrote Dr. Horne, "that Johnson should teach us to dance, to make bows or turn compliments; he could teach us better things." And he did teach us better things—nothing better than how to *die* like a Christian.

VIII.

LAST DAYS AND DEATH.

It is a well-known fact that Johnson, though eminently a religious man, did not, however, extract from religion the full measure of comfort which he knew was surely there. This was forbidden by the loathsome warden that sat brooding like a spectre in the corner of his heart, hypochondria. "Religion to Dr. Johnson," says Mr. Birrell, "was an awful thing. He never learned to take his ease on Zion." "The light from heaven shone upon him indeed," wrote Macaulay, "but not in a direct line or with its own pure splendor. The rays had to struggle through a disturbing medium; they reached him refracted, dulled and discolored by the thick gloom which had settled over his soul." The fault lay in the man, not in religion. Sincerely convinced of his human frailties, Johnson was led at times by his morbid temperament to magnify them unreasonably until they appeared to him to be greater than they actually were. Yet one shudders to think what might have been the result if God in His Providence had in nowise tempered this bitter melancholy with the sweetness of religious hope. England might have had another genius, to be sure, but an erring genius like Byron or our own Edgar Allen Poe. In estimating his own offenses, Johnson sometimes reasoned thus: "Every man knows his own sins and also what graces he has resisted. . . . I do not forget the merits of my Redeemer, but my Redeemer has said that He will set some on His right hand and some on His left. . . . Shall I, who have been a teacher of others, myself be a castaway?" This, in point of fact, is most salutary reasoning for a man, and was used to great ad-

vantage by St. Paul and the other saints. But that it was carried to excess by Johnson there can be no doubt, for he used to turn pale at the thought that God's justice might finally outweigh His mercy and consign his poor trembling soul to the torments of eternal hell. Whence arose that dread of death with him, which has passed into a proverb. But God's ways are unsearchable, and so it came to pass that when the all-important hour drew near and the Angel of Death came knocking at his heart, then all was changed. In his seventy-fifth year the final summons came, when, as if by magic, all the doubts and fears and apprehensions fled away, leaving the transformed Johnson to die like a man and fall like one of the princes. "A deathbed's a detecter of the heart," wrote Young, and hence whatever we may have seen or known of him heretofore, it is only on his singularly beautiful deathbed that we catch a fleeting glimpse of the real Samuel Johnson.

Freed at last from the entanglement of his life-long foe, hypochondria, all the hidden beauties of his character shone forth unimpeded. From his bed of agony he was kind, gentle and patient to all, causing those who called him "bear" before now to turn aside and weep. All England—lords, gentlemen and paupers—stood by his bedside to receive a parting word or blessing, while the most celebrated physicians deemed it their honor to attend him, but an insult to be offered money for it. And right here modern medicine, with its false altruism, may learn a lesson from the dying philosopher and stand rebuked for its atrocious and pagan practice of so drugging sufferers as to launch them oftentimes into eternity unconscious. Having charged Dr. Brocklesby upon his integrity as an honest man to respond frankly to the question whether he could recover or not—"Give me," he said, "a direct answer." Upon being told that it was impossible, "Then," he said, "I will take no more physics, not even my opiates, for I have prayed that I may render up my soul to God unclouded." His last great prayer made upon his knees a few days before he died is not unworthy of insertion here, and is a proof that his vigorous intellect was unclouded to the last.

"Almighty and most merciful Father, I am now, as to human eyes it seems, about to commemorate for the last time the death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, Our Saviour and Redeemer. Grant, O Lord, that my whole hope and confidence may be in His merits and in Thy mercy; forgive and accept my late conversion; enforce and accept my imperfect repentance; make this commemoration of Him available to the confirmation of my faith, the establishment of my hope and the enlargement of my charity, and make the death of Thy Son Jesus effectual to my redemption. Have mercy upon me and pardon the multitude of my offenses. Bless my friends, have mercy upon

all men. Support me by the grace of Thy Holy Spirit in the day of weakness and at the hour of death, and receive me at my death to everlasting happiness for the sake of Jesus Christ. Amen."

With such sentiments in his heart and the sacred name of God upon his lips, the aged moralist, on the 13th day of December, 1784, yielded back his well-tried soul to its Omnipotent Creator with all the peace and tender confidence of a child falling to sleep on its mother's bosom.

Many an eye was wet in England when the news spread around next morning that Johnson was dead. From Scotland came the tribute of Courtenay's poetical eulogium, and even Ireland mourned a distant champion who had defended her in the very camp of the oppressor. Many an outcast and hidden sufferer in London's seething cauldron of life would miss his kindly face and unassuming charity, for Johnson, as he had been no stranger to their sorrows during his own years of famine, was not unmindful of them during his years of royal plenty. Of his three hundred pounds of pension per annum it is estimated that he never spent over seventy or eighty on himself; the rest he lent to God by giving it to the poor. Hence they wept for him. Even Burke, the man of power and action, could scarcely hold back the burning tears as he stood by the deathbed of Johnson. The vicissitudes of twenty-seven years had never once interrupted their mutual esteem and steady friendship, so that now, as the veteran orator gazed upon the cold, still form before him, or summoned up remembrance of the many happy evenings spent under the genial tyranny of the illustrious dictator in the famous "club" of famous men, it must have made him feel like one Psammenitus at the gates of Memphis. Faithful to the end, Burke followed the slow funeral cortege of Johnson to England's Hall of Fame and helped to lay him away in the south transept, near the foot of Shakespeare's monument and close to the coffins of his friends, Goldsmith and Garrick.

IX.

THE ETERNAL "WHY?"

Before bringing this brief sketch of a huge subject to a close there is one question which occurs to every thoughtful Catholic mind and which is worthy of our most serious attention. It is this: "If all that has been advanced concerning Johnson's pronouncedly Catholic tendencies be true, why was he not *actually* a Catholic? Why did he pause upon the threshold of the Church, content to be of one heart with her, though not of one communion?" This is, indeed, a just and natural query, and one that can as honestly be asked of

hundreds of sincere non-Catholics to-day. By way of answer, we shall suggest nothing save what Johnson himself declared to be the reason, for the matter is too grave to admit of mere idle speculation. In the evening of his life, when age and maturity lend additional weight to wisdom already reverent, he declared with full deliberation: "I would be a Papist if I could. I have fear enough, but an *obstinate rationality* prevents me. . . . No reasoning Papist believes every article of their faith. . . . A good man of a timorous disposition, in great doubt of his acceptance with God, and pretty credulous, may be glad to be of a Church where there are so many helps to get to heaven. . . . I shall never be a Papist unless on the near approach of death, of which I have a very great terror. I wonder that women are not all Papists."

Alas! alas! Even the great soul and intellect of Johnson fell into that vulgar error which is really proper to smaller minds—that some articles of Catholic faith, because they are above reason, are therefore *contrary* to reason. It is the ghost of Banquo again. How often must it be reiterated—and what a pity it is that Johnson had no wise spiritual director to point it out to him—that reasoning Catholics *do believe* each and every essential tenet of their religion, though they may *not understand* them? With this distinction, then, Johnson's proposition becomes: "No reasoning Papist *understands* every article of their faith," than which there was never truer proposition. For, if our finite intellects were to become the only norm of credibility, then there would be an end to mysteries and God would cease to be Infinite. Yet our assent, even in the mysterious, is never blind, for there is always the solid evidence of divine relation. Hence when we believe where we do not understand, "we are not," in the words of a modern philosopher, "slaying reason on the altar of faith. The same God who stayed the hand of Abraham when he would sacrifice his son, because He was satisfied with the willingness of the patriarch to offer up his first born, is satisfied with us when we bow down before the truths which are above our comprehension. When we show ourselves ready to sacrifice our reason, which we love as dearly as Abraham loved Isaac, He is pleased to stay our hands and never makes it necessary for us to make the actual sacrifice." Augustine and Bernard and Jerome, even the matchless Aquinas, did not repute it unreasonable to bow their heads at times over open pages of Revelation and say, with the simplicity of a Breton peasant: "We believe, O Lord! Help Thou our unbelief."

"An obstinate rationality." This then was the barrier, in reality only a phantom, which prevented Johnson from following where heart and where inclination were leading him. It had its origin in

the peculiar mould of his private character, where loyalty to King and country were second only to his loyalty to God. From this conjunction sprung his difficulties and perplexing "rationality" concerning Catholicism. He may have had the *wish* to believe, but could not, it would appear, square some of the Church's doctrines, first with his reason, secondly with his loyalty to the Crown of England, and consequently to all that its authority sanctioned or prescribed. Nor is this at all surprising, for many another Englishman has met the identical *crux* on his journey from Canterbury to Rome. The gracious Newman, an intellectual peer of Johnson, felt in his early years the first of these two difficulties most keenly; yet in the full vigor of his mental power, after having passed through every intervening area of speculative aridity, he came at last to know the solidity and fruitfulness of the Catholic ideal. His state of mind during the great struggle between "reason and affection" was an exact counterpart of Johnson's, with this exception, however, that Newman's "kindly light" was destined eventually to lead him safely through the gloom of doubt into the clear, white light of peace and tranquil belief, whereas with Johnson this consummation was never to be realized. Newman came, saw and was conquered. Johnson came, saw and—"the rest is silence."

> O! that thy creed were sound,
> For thou dost soothe the heart, O Church of Rome,

might just as well have been written by Johnson as by Newman. Their stories run so much the same that one cannot help but think that Johnson, had he lived a century later, would have been closely allied with Newman as a leader in the Spiritual Renaissance occasioned by the Tractarian Movement in 1833.

Johnson's chief stumbling stones, if we may judge by elimination and analogy, were probably the Blessed Virgin, Papal infallibility and perhaps transubstantiation. As to the first, if he found repugnance there, it was doubtless because he confounded what was of defined faith with that which is pure devotion, forgetting, as Cardinal Newman says, that "faith and devotion are as distinct in fact as in idea. . . . There is a healthy devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and there is an artificial; it is possible to love her as a mother, to honor her as a Virgin, to seek her as a patron and to exalt her as a Queen, without any injury to solid piety and Christian good sense."[5]

The Saviour of the world is never obscured because Mary, His Mother, is placed in the foreground.

Papal infallibility Johnson naturally joined with temporal sovereignty and divided allegiance, whereupon his stout British heart

[5] Letter to Dr. Pusey on occasion of his Eirenicon of 1864 (3-5).

and Tory principles rose up in rebellion. Like Gladstone, he may have imagined that "Catholics, if they act consistently with their principles, cannot be loyal subjects." Richard Lalor Sheil answered that unjust imputation from the floor of the House of Commons on February 22, 1837, when he called upon Arthur, Duke of Wellington, to say if Catholic loyalty had been found wanting at the awful moment when the destinies of England and all Europe hung trembling in the balance at Waterloo.

The adorable mystery of the Body and Blood of Christ Johnson accepted in the sense and spirit of the Anglican Church of his day—*i. e.*, as a memorial of the Saviour, not really His Body and Blood. There is some uncertainty here, however, for from a passage in the "Journal of a Trip to the Hebrides" we gather that the one obstacle to his perfect assent to transubstantiation was the possibility of the words "This is My Body," etc., being figurative in sense, not literal. Hence we may infer that otherwise he would have believed unreservedly, for it was by no means the miraculous in the Eucharist that appalled Johnson. As it was, he was more than once suspected of un-Anglican and heterodox opinions, as was insinuated by Courtenay in his "Poetical Review" when he wrote:

> On Popish grounds he takes his high church station,
> To sound mysterious tenets through the nation.

Thus we see that Dr. Johnson was, in fact, very close to the Catholic Church. The chasm was narrow and might easily have been spanned by the right man at the right moment—a striking example that keenness of intellect, vast and various knowledge lodged in a great soul eager for the truth are, when left to themselves without illumination, still very far from that "perfect gift" which we call *faith*. And even as it is, there still remains one circumstance of Johnson's deathbed which has puzzled more than one reader of his life, and regarding which the usually vigilant and explanatory editor remains as mute as Cassandra. And it is precisely because of this incident that one must hesitate before deciding categorically just how the last chapter of Johnson's religious life should be written. About two weeks before his death the customary will and testament was executed. During the dictation of it Sir John Hawkins asked the doctor whether he would choose to make any introductory declaration respecting his faith. The doctor said he would. Sir John further asked him if he would make any declaration of his being of the Church of England, to which the doctor said, "*No.*" What does this mean? It is significant, not to say startling. Given a man who is either an Episcopalian or a Catholic (for with Johnson there was no question of any other alternative), and who refuses upon his deathbed to be recorded as

belonging to the Church of England, what is the most natural and reasonable inference to be drawn therefrom? Add to this Johnson's previous testimony prophesying just such a contingency: "I shall never be a Papist, unless *on the near approach of death,*" and the inference becomes not only rational, but even necessary.

Who can tell? Perhaps even then, at the eleventh hour, the light was beginning; but no, we have no right to judge the interior workings of his soul. That is the prerogative of God, who alone can read the secret hearts of men. Suffice it to say that Johnson reverenced his conscience as his King, and as far as we can tell he followed its dictates sincerely whithersoever they led him. That they were leading him slowly yet surely towards the Catholic Church, or at least away from Anglicanism, this episode would seem to indicate. But there are some other strange remarks of his recorded for the following day, which would seem to point that he still retained strong Anglican persuasions. And of course he died professedly an Anglican, with his old friend, Rev. Mr. Strahan, administering the rites of the Church of England. Yet there is just enough uncertainty about the whole affair to heighten and intensify our curiosity.

It is precisely this dash of the mysterious that lends such deep and unusual interest to Johnson's passage from time to eternity. He is one of the few great men of history whom we should like to follow beyond the grave, for the thoughts we think of him are thoughts that must pierce the barrier of death if they would be fully satisfied. There was a great void in Johnson's life—a something missing, for which his blameless but agitated and scrupulous soul longed and yearned. Would that he had found it! But whether he finally found it or not, we still firmly believe, as has been said of Hamlet, that he could front the dread tribunals of eternity with a radically inviolate conscience, for he was sincerity personified. Though walking by sight, not by faith, yet Johnson was not the man to sin against that light if it came.

Our last impression of Samuel Johnson as he fades from mortal vision is the epitome of his life story. He stands on the far side of that ugly chasm of heresy dug by Henry VIII., but his hands are stretched yearningly towards the peaceful, unattained slopes on the opposite bank.

Tendebatque manus ripae ulterioris amore.

Edmund A. Walsh, S. J.

Woodstock College.

THE CLERICAL SCANDALS IN ITALY.

IN ITS issue of January 2 the *Christian*[1] publishes an article entitled as above under the signature of the Rev. A. Robertson, D. D., Venice.

The gravity of the statements therein set forth, the number of people concerned, the high position of the classes involved, the national importance of the questions raised, the writer's exceptional opportunities of acquiring first-hand reliable information, the tone of absolute conviction pervading his remarks, not to mention his character as minister of the Gospel of truth—all these considerations imperatively demand that more than a passing notice should be devoted to the article in question, and accordingly I purpose to subject it to a detailed examination.

Let me first of all set forth, as briefly as possible, the main features of Dr. Robertson's article:

He begins by stating that recently in the Italian Chamber a question was asked by Signor Daneo, one of the members, regarding the necessity of introducing certain reforms into the criminal code so as to enable "the Public Prosecutor to proceed against those who commit crime to the damage of poor children in orphanages as well as against minors in general. The Minister of Public Justice, replying, acknowledged the pertinency of the question and the necessity of action, and promised that the matter should be considered and studied in the manner indicated by the question." Signor Daneo in expressing his pleasure at the answer went on to say that "it would give a legitimate satisfaction to the public conscience, scandalized by the recent immoral deeds that have corrupted many young existences. For it is a thing radically immoral that the guilty should be able with money to purchase immunity from punishment."

So far Dr. Robertson acts the part of chronicler; but he now proceeds to ask what is the underlying meaning "of this question and answer and the comment thereon?" He furnishes his own reply:

"The whole," he says, "has reference to the scandals that arose lately in Italy—the crimes committed by priests in infant schools and orphanages that excited the indignation and fury of the whole Italian nation."

It is true, he admits, that "these deeds of guilt and shame were denied," and that in proof of the denial it was pointed out that "not a few priests against whom criminal charges had been brought and who had been arrested and put in prison had been liberated." But he goes on immediately to add:

[1] *The Christian*, a weekly record of Christian life and testimony, evangelical effort and missionary enterprise. London, 12 Paternoster Buildings, E. C.

"It has now come out (indeed, it was well known at the time) that in the case of many thus dealt with, liberation was not granted because they were innocent—innocence or guilt did not enter into the consideration. Such were liberated for a different reason. They were liberated, as the Parliamentary report shows, because of a defect in the law, of which (helped in all probability by the Church) they were not slow to take advantage."

He next proceeds to explain the nature of that defect and its application to the case in question. As the law at present stands the Public Prosecutor cannot initiate a prosecution for outrages committed against children and minors—such prosecution lies in the hands of their parents or guardians; and if these once withdraw a prosecution, even after they have initiated it, the whole process at once falls to the ground. The application is easy to see: The priests had been arrested and prosecuted at the instance of the parents and guardians of the children who had been outraged, but, lo and behold! "these same parents and guardians withdrew the prosecutions," and the cases as a matter of course "fell to the ground." Now what was the result?

"The priests were then liberated, not because they were innocent—that did not enter into the question; they might be innocent or they might be guilty—but they were liberated because the parents and guardians declined to prosecute. And why did they decline to prosecute? We get the answer in the closing sentence of the Parliamentary report which I have quoted, which says: 'For it is a thing radically immoral that the guilty should be allowed *with money* to purchase immunity from punishment.'

"The plain inference (such is his comment on all this) is that the parents and guardians of the outraged children in many cases received money to withdraw their prosecutions. Such had been bribed or to use the common, though vulgar, expression, *squared.*"

Now who did the squaring? he asks. Not the priests themselves, for they were poor men. But Dr. Robertson thinks "it is not difficult to find an answer." Of course it was the Church, which has an old trick of compounding crimes by money. But the practice of purchasing exemption must cease. Such was the demand made in the Italian Parliament, and with a view to this the penal code must be altered to meet the case of parents or guardians declining to prosecute.

"Had this been the law," he concludes, "the result of the apprehension of vicious priests would have been very different from what it is, and the false boast of the Church as to their innocence would have been taken away."

Yet, he laments, "in spite of all this exposure in Parliament, in

the press and among the people," Pius X. had "the shameless audacity" recently to speak of such exposure as "persecution."

"Can there be any hope of a Church whose 'infallible' head dares to misrepresent facts in such a way? It is as if one reviled and condemned a judge and jury for investigating crime whilst justifying the criminal. It is worse (for) the Pope virtually says it is persecution of the Church of Christ to punish clerical crime!"

I am sorry to have had to trouble the reader with so much of Dr. Robertson; but, as will readily be seen, it was absolutely necessary to let him tell his own tale and make his own statements in his own words. Now briefly expressed and in logical sequence these statements are as follows:

(a) That Italy was lately stirred to fury and indignation by several grave clerical scandals.

(b) That these scandals consisted in "crimes committed by priests in infant schools and orphanages."

(c) That "not a few" of the accused priests were liberated.

(d) That this was done not because of their innocence, but was due to the fact that the parents and guardians of the outraged children had been *squared* and induced to withdraw their accusations, thus rendering the Crown powerless to proceed.

(e) That proof of this statement is to be found in a recent "Parliamentary report."

(f) And, finally, had it not been for a defect in the law "the result of the apprehension of vicious priests would have been very different from what it is."

There can be no denying that we have here a set of most convincing statements, if we only make the one small proviso, "supposing they are true." Now are they true? That is the one really important question, and it is the question that must now be faced, not by indulging in flights of imagination, not by playing upon the prejudices or ignorance or credulity of the reader, but simply by setting forth the facts as established in the law courts or duly recorded in the public press.

(a)

I need not devote much time to the statement that several "grave clerical scandals arose lately in Italy." Even now, after the lapse of more than half a year, most readers will have some vague recollection of the stories "of deeds of guilt and shame" that "excited the indignation and fury of the whole Italian nation" last summer, and led to a reign of terror in which unoffending citizens and residents in Italy were ruthlessly assailed, their property wrecked or destroyed and their very lives exposed to danger.

The facts regarding the publication of the scandals are as follows:

Towards the end of last July all Italy was horrified to read that abominable and nameless scandals had been discovered at Milan in a female orphanage conducted by a congregation of nuns, and that the authors of these scandals were, with the connivance of the nuns, two priests, Don Riva, of the Diocese of Turin, and Don Longo, of the Diocese of Milan, the latter of whom, it was discovered, had gone to America some short time before and was actually there at that moment.

It would be impossible to repeat the accusations brought against the accused parties—no decent journal outside Italy could even dream of publishing them, so nameless were the filthy details multiplied on hundreds of Italian papers from end to end of the peninsula. Suffice it to say that the children of the Fumagalli Institute (such was the name of the superioress) were proclaimed to be infected with venereal disease and to reveal physiological conditions that clearly proved they had been tampered with by some foul, inhuman wretch. That monster was declared to be Don Riva, the spiritual director of the institute, and the evidence furnished against him was so strong, so clear and so convincing that for many a day—and that day is not yet at an end—the name of Don Riva has been a byword and a reproach and a synonym for all that is bad and vile and monstrous in man.

A few days later, while the whole country was seething with indignation at the atrocities of Milan, another and still graver scandal came to startle even calm minds and to arouse the fury of the people to a pitch hitherto unknown perhaps in the whole history of Italy. The sub-prefect of Savona, the official directly responsible for the maintenance of law and order in his district (his office corresponds more or less to that of a county inspector of police), ordered a minute inspection of a college kept by the Salesian Fathers, a teaching institute diffused over all Italy and not unknown in England and America.

Acting on information received, he despatched on the morning of July 29 an inspector with a posse of police, who took possession of the school, bore off teachers and pupils to the barracks, subjected both to a searching investigation, and had several of the boys medically examined by a certain Dr. Ferrari, with the result that he was able to declare that various boys had shown indications of having been violated, and that in the preliminary inquisition conducted by the police several boys had confessed that the authors of the abominations perpetrated on their persons were the priests who conducted the college. At the same time the sub-prefect handed to the press for publication the contents of a diary, written day after day by one

of the pupils, a boy named Besson, giving a minute and detailed account of all he saw transpiring under his own eyes in the college. What that was cannot be repeated here; let it suffice to say that it leaves Sodom and Gomorrah in the shade, and that it is one sickening catalogue of sacrileges, orgies, profanations and crimes without a name, organized and perpetrated by the priests of the college with the active coöperation of the nuns of a neighboring convent, in the presence and to the irreparable damage of some hundreds of youths who attended the school.

So unconditional and unreserved were the charges, so clear did the proofs appear and so abominable were the facts revealed by the subprefect's investigation and by the diary of Besson, that, improbable as it all was on the face of it, no one dreamt of questioning its truth. It was unreservedly accepted as genuine by all classes—Catholic as well as anti-Catholic—and the flames of popular fury were kindled once more and burst into a devouring flame that respected neither property nor person. Riot followed riot, insult followed insult, outrage followed outrage—and all as a protest against the unutterable wickedness of those vile, inhuman monsters, the priests, monks and nuns! Matters reached a climax at Spezia, where on the evening of the 1st of August an infuriated crowd of Socialists and Anarchists raged unrestrained through the principal streets, to the tune of "down with the priests—down with the Vatican." In their mad career they attacked several churches, amongst others that of St. Antonio, which was completely sacked, the seats and chairs and vestments being set on fire, after which an attempt was made to burn down the church at four different points. But the fiercest attack was that made on the Church of the Madonna della Neve, belonging to the Salesians. The rioters attempted to break down the door of the edifice; they were opposed by the police. A melee ensued, in which stones were freely thrown. Some arrests being made, the crowd endeavored to effect the liberation of those arrested, and in order to succeed hurled down tiles from the roofs of the houses on the heads of the soldiers, wounding several of them. Finally the police saw there was nothing for it but to fire on the crowd. They did so, killing one and wounding two, and for several days to come the city was placed under martial law. Similar deplorable incidents, though fortunately without loss of life, took place at Sampierdarena, Alassio, Savona, Fossano, Collesalvetti and elsewhere, in all of which places the Salesians were subjected to outrage, insult and violent attack.

A very cyclone of clerical scandals at once swept over the country. Hardly a day passed that the people had not some fresh deed of guilt and shame to set down to the credit of priests and monks and

nuns. True, indeed, thinking people began to suspect that the revelations were too many, too improbable and especially too simultaneous to be genuine, and that the evidence produced in each case, when properly sifted, was far from satisfactory. But public opinion in general was aroused; suspicion and discredit had been sown broadcast; meetings and demonstrations had been multiplied, and it was everywhere taken for granted and loudly proclaimed that the charges were proved to be true beyond any shadow of doubt and that the guilty parties were precisely those priests, monks and nuns who had hitherto had so much to do with the education of the Catholic youth of the country. An energetic agitation with a view to the suppression of religion in the schools of the kingdom was at once organized and actively promoted by the Freemason and Socialist parties.

In order to form some idea of the impression made by the scandals thus revealed, it will be useful to refer briefly to three documents that emanated from three distinct and important public bodies in Italy in connection with the revelations.

The first is a circular, dated August 7, addressed to the Italian Freemasons by their Grand Master, Ettore Ferrari, containing instructions regarding the excitement then agitating the public mind as a result of the revelations referred to. The writer states that it was not true that the excitement was due to the initiative or encouragement of Freemasonry, but that it was "the irresistible and spontaneous revolt of the public conscience against the abominations that had been revealed." True it is, he writes, that complaints are being made that some who were clearly innocent had been treated as criminals of the deepest dye, but while regretting that such should be the case, he points out that this only proves the necessity of inspiring the people with a profound sense of justice—a sense that can only be hoped for by substituting sound educational institutions in the place of those now conducted by those "corrupt and corrupting bodies," the religious congregations. This must be their aim, this the object of their most active propaganda.

The second document appeared a few days later. It was a secret circular addressed by the Minister of Public Instruction, Rava (notoriously a Freemason), to the educational authorities of Italy, the opening words of which are: "The horrible deeds perpetrated in certain educational institutions are now notorious." In consequence of these facts he calls upon the educational authorities to extend their most watchful vigilance over "all such institutions indiscriminately, whether public or private, but especially over the latter . . . since it has been made clear that it is precisely in such that the gravest infractions of order and morality take place."

The third document is a circular issued by the Central Socialist

committee to the various branches of that party, calling on them to organize a grand anti-clerical demonstration for the 20th of September and to force on the government a programme including amongst other things the following points:

1. The immediate inspection of all charitable institutions carried on by priests, monks and nuns.
2. A new law to prevent the same from taking charge of children and minors.
3. The abolition of religious instruction in elementary schools.
4. Abolition of religious orders and congregations.
5. Complete separation of Church and State.

So much for the scandals in a general way. Let us now turn to particulars. They will be found interesting, if somewhat revolting.

(b)

"The deeds of guilt and shame," "the crimes committed by priests in infant schools and orphanages," taken one by one almost in the order they were published are as follows:[2]

1. At Milan two priests, Don Riva and Don Longo, were charged with having outraged various little girls belonging to an orphanage conducted by nuns. This case has already been referred to at some length.
2. At Varazze two priests were charged, under circumstances already narrated, with the most horrible abominations.
3. At Alassio a cleric of the Salesian college there was charged with a somewhat similar crime, the details of which were published at great length in the various papers.
4. At Venice a Franciscan friar was accused of having fled because his criminal relations towards the superioress of St. Francesco della Vigna had been discovered.
5. At San Martino a priest, the Rev. Lucchini, was accused by several little girls of having outraged them.
6. At Pisa a priest, the Rev. Marcucci, was condemned for public immorality.
7. At Trani the nuns of an educational institute were accused of collecting girls and bringing them to the manufacturing centres of North Italy, where they had "sweated" and barbarously ill treated them.
8. At Bolzanetto the skeleton of an infant was found buried in the garden attached to an old convent.
9. At Sampierdarena several young lads made definite accusations

[2] The list is practically that summarized by the December *Civiltà Cattolica* from information supplied by the *Zentral-Auskunftestella der kath. Presse*, Koblenz.

against a priest, the Rev. Olcese, of having committed nameless crimes in their regard.

10. At Fossano the Salesian college was closed on account of horrible scandals therein discovered.

11. At Colle Salvetti a youth was corrupted by one of the Salesians.

12. At Ferrara a little girl was the victim of certain Ursuline nuns of that city.

13. At Palermo various definite charges were made against the members of a religious community existing in that city.

14. At Genoa the chaplain of the Ursuline community was accused of misdemeanors.

15. At Cotrone the police had to be called in to save the children of a certain orphanage from being savagely beaten with sticks by the barbarous nuns in charge.

16. At Pistoia a priest, the Rev. Sella, was accused of definite crimes.

17. At Vomero the Franciscan friars were accused of having performed an operation on a woman to whom they had previously administered narcotics.

18. At Adria a violent anti-clerical demonstration was organized as a protest against a nun who had run away with a medical man.

19. At Ancona accusations of immorality were made against the Children of Mary in the Good Shepherd house of correction.

20. At Pittigliano Canon Capitano was arrested on the charge of immorality.

21. At Castellamare a scandal was reported to exist in the relations between the chaplain and the superioress of the hospital.

22. At Faenza the police were informed that a certain friar was being imprisoned and barbarously treated by the other friars of the monastery.

23. At Stezzano a priest was accused of offenses against public morality.

24. At Rome the nuns in charge of the Capozzi Institute were accused of immorality in respect of one of the orphans, a girl named Ida Sprondrati.

25. At Rome the nuns were accused of complicity in scandals that came to light in connection with the house of correction "Regina Elena."

26. At Rome the monks in charge of the Institute Vigna Pia were accused of cruelly neglecting and ill-treating the pupils of that school.

27. At Rome charges of neglect, ill treatment and sexual perversion were made against those responsible for the orphanage of St.

Philippo, with the result that an investigation was held and the school closed.

I must really beg the reader's pardon for imposing this long and shameful catalogue on his patience, but, as will readily be seen, it was absolutely necessary to have a clear notion and a detailed list of the various cases in order to be able to form an unprejudiced judgment on the culpability of the accused and on the crimes that led to their condemnation or exoneration in each case.

(c)

But "these deeds of guilt and shame were denied by the Church, and in proof of their denial they (the Church) pointed to the fact that not a few priests, against whom criminal charges had been brought, and who had been arrested and put in prison, had been liberated." It now transpires, according to Dr. Robertson, that "in the case of many thus dealt with" their liberation from prison "was not granted because they were innocent," but "for a far different reason."

At the present moment I merely wish to draw attention to the vague way in which a number of people are counted in the foregoing statement. "Not a few" of those arrested were liberated; but "many" of these "not a few" owed their discharge to other reasons than their innocence. As we shall see in a moment, of all the accused the only ones who have not been liberated months ago were those connected with the Fumagalli case at Milan, that is to say, Don Riva, Don Longo, the superioress of the institution and one of her assistants. "Not a few," then, really means all except the two priests mentioned just now, though I should be inclined to imagine that "not a few" readers of Dr. Robertson's article would take a far different meaning from his words.

(d)

"In the case of many thus dealt with" their liberation, Dr. Robertson states, was not due to the fact that they were innocent, but to the fact that "the parents and guardians withdrew their prosecutions" and consequently "the cases fell to the ground" owing to a flaw in the Italian criminal code which does not permit the Crown to proceed for outrages on minors or children unless the parents and guardians consent to prosecute.

There is only one way of arriving at an estimate of the correctness of this statement, and that is by studying the result of each accusation and by examining how such result was arrived at. We have already given a substantially complete list of the accusations in question; let us now take them up one by one in the order in which

they occur, and let us see what proceedings were taken in each case, what was the result, and especially how far it is true that acquittal was due to the fact that the charges were withdrawn by the parents or guardians.

1. The first case on the list, as well as the first in time, is that of the Fumagalli Institute at Milan. As already stated, the charge made in this case, when briefly told, amounts to this, that a certain nun named Fumagalli, who was the foundress and superioress of a religious congregation having female orphanges at Turin, Milan and elsewhere, had permitted the violation of certain of the orphans, who on being medically examined displayed evident traces of venereal disease and other physiological conditions which clearly showed they had been outraged; and that the authors of the abominable crime were two priests, Don Riva and Don Longo, the former of whom was spiritual director of the institute at Milan.

As the case is still *sub judice,* I do not, of course, wish to venture any opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the parties accused, beyond recalling to mind that the most elementary principles of justice dictate that they shall be regarded as innocent till such time as their guilt shall have been proved. It can be no harm, however, to mention a few facts in connection with the case that have been ascertained beyond all shadow of doubt.

The first and most important fact is that the person chiefly concerned was not only not a nun at all, but had even been repudiated as such, publicly and officially, on more than one occasion by the ecclesiastical authorities, who even went so far as to report to the police that she was wearing a religious habit and parading as a nun, without any right to the name or dress.[3]

Thus in 1891 the Archbishop of Turin, Cardinal Alimonda, in an official interview with the quaestor of that city, stated that "it was his desire that the Fumagalli Institute should be suppressed."

In 1893 his successor, Archbishop Riccardi, issued the following decree to the clergy and laity of his diocese: "I hereby direct Giuseppina Fumagalli to lay aside the religious habit she now wears, and to see that those young women whom she has unlawfully clothed as nuns shall do the same. Should she disobey, I hereby warn the faithful that she is formally repudiated." Not only this, but the diocesan authorities drew the attention of the civil authorities to the suspicious character of her institute.

In 1903 the present Archbishop of Turin, Cardinal Richelmy, who had strictly maintained his predecessor's regulation on this point,

[3] The official documents in connection with this and the points that follow regarding the attitude of the ecclesiastical authorities towards her may be found *in extenso* in the *Corriere d'Italia* of July 28, 1907.

being one day about to take part in some public function in one of the churches, and learning that Fumagalli was present, he insisted on her leaving the sacred edifice without further delay.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Milan publicly and personally refused to give her Holy Communion one day in the Cathedral. How grave and significant a step this was a Catholic will readily recognize.

In 1903 he furthermore directed the clergy of his diocese to refuse the sacraments to her and to her companions or adherents.

Not only was she no nun; not only was she publicly repudiated as such by the ecclesiastical authorities, but while she was condemned and denounced by them as an impostor masquerading in nun's dress, she was publicly supported by the anti-Catholic papers, such as the *Gazzetta del Popolo,* the *Lombardia,* the *Adriatico* and others, who applauded her because she was in conflict with them and lauded her to the skies as "a holy nun persecuted by the Church."

More still. When the ecclesiastical authorities condemned her and her institute, the police officials not only gave them no assistance, but permitted her to wear the religious garb, receive children into her institute and collect alms for that purpose. It may be news to many that according to Italian law any one who pleases may dress and appear publicly as a priest or a monk.

Regarding the various children said to have been outraged and to present evident traces of the fact, the following statement appeared a few days later in the *Sera* (July 30), a paper by no means friendly to the Church: "As a result of medical inspection it turns out that none of the children said to have been outraged show symptoms of venereal disease . . . and that all of them have been found to present physiologically normal conditions."

This is not all. One of the so-called nuns, shortly after the first violence of the storm had passed, confessed that Don Riva was absolutely extraneous to anything that might have happened, and that whatever crimes had been perpetrated were the work of another person who was in the habit of frequenting the institute. Two other statements of a more or less similar character have been made. It is, however, for the proper tribunal to judge the value of such statements. Till such decision has been given we can only suspend our judgment.

Meanwhile Don Riva lies in prison awaiting the long-deferred process. Since his arrest he has incessantly protested his innocence, and so strongly has the tide of public opinion changed that even the anti-Catholic papers now admit that his guilt is far from certain and that it is quite probable that he may be exonerated. As for Don Longo, he, too, is in prison. He was in America when news of the vile charges made against him reached him, and he at once returned

to Italy to answer them. Whatever we may think of his guilt or innocence, this does not seem like the action of a guilty man.

Of all the various cases, this is the only one in which the accused are still in prison and have still to stand trial. And hence, strictly speaking, they cannot be counted amongst the "not a few" who, according to Dr. Robertson, secured their release and acquittal by *squaring*. Let us now see who these are.

2. The Salesians of Varazze were accused specifically on three distinct counts: (a) That one of them had in presence of the whole school burned the King and Garibaldi in effigy. (b) That another of them so far forgot himself as to conduct his class seated semi-nude between two of his pupils, who were completely nude; and (c) that the Salesians had been accustomed to celebrate "a *Black Mass*" and to practice the wildest and most abominable orgies in the company of the Salesian nuns of the same city—orgies that few journalists outside Italy could have the hardihood to describe.

As already related, the sub-prefect of Verona, acting on a denunciation made by a youth of fourteen named Besson, the supposed son of a widow, but of unknown paternity, had the whole school, both teachers and pupils, arrested and hastily hurried to the barracks, where they were subjected to an investigation surpassing in its barbarity the wildest dreams of fiction. "The youths were tortured by brutal questions so as to extract from their lips the mysteries of a *Black Mass,* which the poor boys understood to mean the Mass of the Dead; the smaller boys were caressed by the mother of the lad Besson, in order to induce them to confess; the larger lads had their ears pulled, received blows, were even threatened with prison by those who should represent the authority of the law, so as to terrify them and induce them to confirm all that was said as true."[4] In terror the poor boys said many things the meaning of which they did not even understand; their half intelligible words were taken as "confirmation strong as Holy Writ;" to crown all, a certain Dr. Ferrari, who had been called in by the sub-prefect to medically inspect the boys said to have been outraged, declared that the inspection revealed the fact that some of them had been brutally violated, and for a moment the lad Besson and his mother (or guardian or whatever else she was) were idolized as heroes, while the Salesians of Varazze passed into the realms of legend as veritable monsters, who knew no law and recognized no claim but that of their own base passions.

Two were at once committed to prison, and in addition to these the papers told in startling tones that two others, Don Rolla and Don Musso, had fled on the first intimation of an inquiry; that their

[4] *Civiltà Cattolica,* August, 1907.

whereabouts was being carefully concealed, and shocking revelations were hinted at in connection with their names.

In the midst of the riots and madness that followed, calmer souls soon found food for reflection in the offer made by the superior general of the Salesians, Father Rua, to place all the colleges of the order freely at the disposal of the authorities, with a view to a full and unreserved inquiry; and as day followed day it was found that the evidence, instead of becoming stronger and clearer, was only growing weaker and less reliable.

On the first publication of the scandal three sources of evidence were alleged by the sub-prefect. These were: The results of the medical inspection made by Dr. Ferrari on several of the boys; the confessions of the boys themselves, and, thirdly—the most important of all—the diary of the boy Besson. It will be necessary to refer to each of these.

First as to the confessions made by the boys. In themselves they were anything at all but coherent or conclusive; but when there was added to this consideration the manner in which the boys had been treated by the sub-prefect and his officers, their confessions were by common consent rendered utterly valueless.

We have already seen the manner in which the investigation of the boys was conducted. The following statement, made by the father of one of them, will make this clearer still. It is reported by the *Caffaro,* a notoriously anti-Catholic paper, and is to the effect that the health of one of the boys had suffered considerably, and on being asked the reason the father replied: "He was one of the boarders of Varazze, but owing to the furious intimidation and pressure brought to bear on him he had been compelled to testify against the good fathers; but he now protests that he had testified to what was false, and he trembles and weeps incessantly." Another incident—an incident that admits of no doubt—occurred in the examination of another of the pupils, a nephew of Count Naselli, of Savona, who on his frankly and fearlessly declaring that Besson's statements were completely false, was boxed on the ears by the police.

Regarding the results of the medical inspection made by Dr. Ferrari, the *Momento,* of Turin, reports that the four boys who he had declared showed signs of violence were subjected to further inspection by other medical men. One lad was examined by two medical men, who found no traces whatever of violence, with the result that one of the imprisoned Salesians was immediately released. The second boy was examined by a medical man at Genoa, with like result. The parents of a third were fully bent on proceeding against the Salesians, and as a preliminary had him inspected by two other doctors, who declared that it was utterly impossible that the youth

could have been the object of any violence of the kind. In the case of the fourth and last youth who had been specially indicated by Dr. Ferrari as a victim of the Salesians, his parents had him examined a second time by another doctor, who declared he was perfectly sound; but, not satisfied with this, they had him examined a third time by a specialist, Dr. Rizzo, of Genoa, who confirmed the last statement in the most absolute manner and added that he could not understand or account for Dr. Ferrari's assertion.

As for the evidence of the boy Besson, it is agreed on all sides that it has all melted into thin air, while his famous diary has been scientifically proclaimed to be the production of a hysterical and suggestioned youth, aided, probably, by other minds who well knew what they were doing. The very enormity and extreme improbability of his statements were quite enough to render them suspected. But on close examination the lad, though extremely clever for one of his age, utterly broke down; he contradicted himself; he gave as present at the orgies persons who were hundreds of miles away at the time; he stated that the various enormities he describes took place in the presence of the whole college of several hundred boys, yet not one of these saw the faintest shadow of anything he affirmed he saw; he writes that his diary was a register day by day of all that happened in the college, yet he was an extern pupil and was only in the college three times during the whole year, as the college books clearly prove; he says hundreds were present at the *Black Mass* in a room that could not contain fifty; he wrote that he had seen these same hundreds of priests, monks, nuns and pupils assembled together, though not another person in the same city, not even the police, had noticed any such assemblies; in a word, so incoherent, so absurd, so contradictory, so utterly unsupported were his statements that a correspondent of the Socialist *Tempo,* who had studied him closely and at length, reported as follows: "The narrative is simply incredible, and I must confess that the doubt assails me whether the lad's imagination is not possessed by a terrible obsession." But it is idle to speak further of the lad and his hallucinations; there is no one who now believes in either one or the other, except perhaps the poor dupes of gutter journals like the Socialist *Avanti,* which in its issue of August 14 (after all the evidence had been sifted as above) wrote *a propos* of the scandals: "The Catholic Church, as long as it has been the Catholic Church, has ever been the forge of all filthiness, the engineer of all infamy"—journals that day after day and week after week devoted column on column and page on page to the foulest details of the filthiest charges, and when the charges had been shown to be utterly baseless, these same journals never for a moment dreamt of setting the fact before their poor dupes, who to

this day go their way fully convinced that the Salesians of Varazze are as bad as they were painted.

It will be remembered that four Salesians were specially singled out for public odium. These were Don Musso, Don Desperati, Don Rolla and Don Lattuade. Don Musso, it was reported, had fled on the first signs of the storm and could nowhere be found. But it transpired that he was then simply on a visit to his family, whither he had gone before the revelations (*Corriere d'Italia,* 6th August); Don Rolla, it turned out, never existed (*Corriere,* August 8); Don Desperati was not a priest at all, but a simple teacher in the college; Don Lattuade was not a priest, but simply the custodian of the pupils' hats and coats. The latter two were, as I have said, arrested; but Lattuade was liberated as soon as honest medical inspection had shown that none of the boys had been violated, while Desperati was retained in prison for some time longer, though on no graver charge than that he had appeared semi-nude before his class; but he, too, has been discharged and has quietly returned to the college. The results of the inquiry are thus summarized by the *Stampa* of August 23: "What is the result of the magisterial inquiry into the Varazze affair? After infinite investigations, interrogations and perquisitions, the authorities have come to the conviction that every single thing denounced by the lad Besson is absolutely false and without foundation."

Two or three of the closing scenes of this sad drama deserve mention.

The first was a reunion of 4,000 ex-pupils of the Salesians at Torino (September 29) as a protest against the violence and injustice done their old teachers. After the religious function about 10,000 persons gathered round the tomb of the founder, Don Bosco, as a sign of their confidence in the order he had left behind him to carry on his work.

The second was the reopening of the college that had been ruthlessly and arbitrarily closed by the blind rage of the sub-prefect. Even after the evidence had made it as clear as noonday that the accusations were groundless, the authorities still kept the college closed. But this was no longer possible after the reopening had been unanimously voted by the Provincial School Board of Genoa and by the Municipal Council of Varazze, and accordingly the Minister of Education at length gave the requisite order and the Salesians returned once more to continue the work from which they had been so cruelly removed.

One word more regarding the only victim of the Varazze scandal. It is the sub-prefect, Silva, who by government decree of November 6 was reduced in rank and transferred as a simple assistant to Gros-

seto, where all lovers of justice will hope he may have the leisure and the will to repent his ardent zeal in the cause of anarchy.[5]

I have had to dwell at considerable length on the case of the Salesians at Varazze because of all the scandals it was by far the most important and exercised the deepest influence on the public mind. The scandals that followed fast and furious were of secondary importance or may at best be regarded as the outcome or echo of the excited state of public feeling produced by the Fumagalli and Salesian affairs; and hence, while it will be necessary to take them up one by one, there will be no need to dwell on each of them in detail. It will be quite enough in most cases to specify the result of each charge.

3. At first sight the accusations made against the Salesians of Alassio were almost as grave as in the case of Varazze, just as they were of much the same nature. On inquiry, however, it was discovered that the scandals in question assumed very small dimensions, and had not even the quality of novelty to recommend them, but consisted in an incident that occurred more than a year previously (May, 1906), when the mother of one of the boarders charged two of the teachers with acts of immorality towards her son. The persons accused (who were extern teachers, not Salesians) had been at once dismissed. The Royal Inspector of Schools had investigated the case, and having ascertained that the acts complained of were of a trivial character, calling for no action on his part, had reported accordingly to the School Board of the Province of Genoa, stating that he considered the measures taken by the director of the college to be quite sufficient, and simply recommending greater surveillance, but adding that everything else was in perfect order. The School Board unanimously adopted his report, which was approved by the Ministry of Education. On learning

[5] In view of the implied statement that the acquittal of the accused Salesians was accomplished through bribery, I considered it advisable to communicate with the president of the college at Varazze, which was the scene of the most serious alleged scandals and accusations, I herewith give the questions I asked, together with the answers furnished by the president:

(1) Is it true that bribery was resorted to in order to secure the acquittal of the accused? "The statement is *absolutely false.*"

(2) Is it true that on the first report of the scandals the superior general of the Salesians wrote to the civil authorities, offering to throw open all the schools of the order in Italy to a public, official and unreserved inquiry? "It is *most true.*"

(3) Is it true that legal proceedings were instituted by the Salesians of Varazze against the papers that had published the accusations against them? "Secure in our innocense, we had begun legal proceedings against such papers, even before the results of the police inquiry were made known."

(4) Is it true that these legal proceedings have been since withdrawn? "Not only is this not true, but much more extensive law proceedings have been since initiated."

the exact state of affairs the boy's parents withdrew the charge they had made against the Salesians, with whom they continued to remain on the most friendly terms. (The *Stampa,* of Turin, August 1.)

4. In the case of the friar accused of having fled from Venice because the superioress of a neighboring Franciscan convent had begun to show evident signs of the result of his criminal intercourse with her, it transpired that "the calumniated superioress died the previous April, at the age of seventy-one, and that her successor, the actual superioress, was no less than seventy-five years of age," while as for the poor friar, he had, in the course of the usual triennal chapter, been simply transferred from Venice and made head of the important house of the order at Feltre. (*Corriere d'Italia,* August 1.)

5. In the case of Don Lucchini, at Rovigo, the two little girls who had made the accusations reported against him in the *Gazzettino* and *Adriatico* were examined (July 28), in the presence of the police and of various other persons, with reference to the charges they had made. In reply to the police officer who questioned them they flatly contradicted their former statement, adding that the charge they had made against Don Lucchini "had been suggested to them by the correspondent of the *Gazzettino.*" (*Avvenire d'Italia,* July 29.)

6. Regarding the "priest" (Marcucci) who was condemned to fifteen months at Pisa for acts against public decency, it will be enough to state that he turns out to be a lay professor in one of the lay schools. (*Corriere d'Italia,* July 28.)

7. At Trani the nuns were accused of having gathered together a number of girls, whom they induced on false pretences to accompany them to one of the manufacturing towns of Piedmont, where they placed them in a manufacturing establishment, in which they were treated as white slaves, were sweated and condemned to lead a miserable, half-starved existence, from which they were vainly trying to escape and return home. The real facts were that the girls in question were simply working girls, who boarded with and lived under the charge of the nuns, but worked in a silk factory hard by. Regarding their treatment it will be enough to give the wire sent (July 30) by the police authorities at Ivrea to the police at Trani, who had requested direct official information: "The Ceriana silk factory is very respectable and highly esteemed both for its commercial importance and for the excellent treatment given all the employees; as for the girls (referred to), on being directly questioned on the matter by the police officer, they replied that they are quite happy and do not desire to return home."

8. The skeleton of a newly-born infant found buried in a convent garden at Bolzanetto was pronounced by a doctor whom the police had called in to examine it to be "nothing else than that of a poor

dog that had been dead for some time." (*Corriere d'Italia,* August 4.)

9. The *Cittadino,* of Genoa (August 5), reports that the imputations made against Don Olcese, of Sampierdarena, seem to be nothing more than a mere canard.

10. Regarding the asserted horrible scandals at Fossano, "a threat of law proceedings has compelled those who published the charges to admit that no unbecoming act was committed" in the Salesian school there. (*Corriere d'Italia,* August 6.)

11. The Salesian accused of having corrupted a boy in the Salesian school at Colle Salvetti was proved to have done nothing more than administer a gentle dose of the birch rod to him. (*Civiltá Cattolica,* December 7.)

12. In the case of the young lady boarder at Ferrara who, it was reported, had been confined to bed for several years in consequence of her having been victimized by the Ursuline nuns who conducted the boarding school, the physician of that school wrote to the papers (August 9) "denying in the most absolute manner" that there was or had been any such case in the school.

13. The religious of Palermo accused by the *Sicilia Socialista* have taken a libel action against that paper. (*Civiltá Cattolica,* December 7.)

14. The *Lavoro,* of Genoa, which had published scandals connected with the name of the chaplain of the convent of the Immacolatine, was compelled to eat its words. (*Civiltá Cattolica,* December 7.)

15. At Cotrone the police who were called into the orphanage there to protect the orphans against the cruelty of the nuns found after a severe investigation that there was absolutely no cause of complaint. (*Civiltá Cattolica,* December 7.)

16. As a result of the publication of scandals by the *Avvenire,* of Pistoia, the priest accused, Rev. Sella, has taken an action for libel against that paper. (*Civiltá Cattolica,* December 7.)

17. A similar libel action has been taken against the *Propaganda* by the Franciscan friars of Vomero (Naples), whom it had accused of having administered narcotics to a woman and of performing a surgical operation on her. (*Civiltá Cattolica,* December 7.)

18. At Adria it turns out that the nun who was reported to have run away with a doctor had simply gone to Ferrara to make the spiritual retreat usually made each year in convents. (*Civiltá Cattolica,* December 7.)

19. In the police investigations held at Ancona with reference to the charges of immorality made against the Good Shepherd nuns it was proved that the accusations had been fabricated by a young

lad out of revenge, because he had been reprimanded for various breaches of discipline. (*Corriere d'Italia,* September 15.)

20. Canon Capitano, of Pittigliano, who was arrested and imprisoned at Grosseto on a charge of corruption of minors, was not, as had been reported by the *Tribuna,* director of the infant orphanage; neither he nor any other priest had anything to do with it. (*Corriere d'Italia,* August 12.) After a minute investigation he was completely exonerated, there being no ground for the accusation against him. (*Ibid,* August 14, and *Civiltá Cattolica,* December 7.)

21. Regarding the accusations made against the good name of the superioress of a workhouse at Castellamare, the Socialist organ which had printed the accusations was threatened with proceedings for libel and had to publish an apology, in which the editor confessed that he had been deceived in his information and that "we have discovered that our allusions to the said superioress are absolutely groundless." (September 13.)

22. The friar reported to the police to be imprisoned and barbarously treated in the Franciscan convent at Faenza was found to be actually at Massa Lombarda, where he had been for several months quietly and freely minding his own business. (*Civiltá Cattolica,* December 7.)

23. In the case of the priest accused of public immorality at Stezzano, the whole affair was proved to be a downright calumny. In the course of the legal proceedings that ensued, the calumniator escaped being convicted simply because his name could not be discovered. (*Civiltá Cattolica,* December 7.)

24. In the case of the scandals in connection with the Capozzi Institute at Rome it was at once discovered that the institute had nothing to do with any religious congregation; that the directress was not a nun, and that no nuns of any kind were connected with it. (*Corriere d'Italia,* August 3.) At the same time it is only due to the good name of the directress to state that the commission appointed to investigate the case proclaimed her "complete and perfect innocence." (October 18.)

25. The scandals attributed to the nuns della Provvidenza at Rome were proved to have really taken place in the House of Refuge Regina Elena, a lay institute, with which nuns had absolutely no connection of any kind since August, 1906. And it may be well to remark that of all the scandals published in July and August, 1907, the only one proved to exist was that in connection with this lay institute, the directress of which was severely punished for neglect of proper surveillance, in consequence of which a girl named Annucci had been corrupted in the institute. (*Corriere d'Italia,* August 5.)

26. A magisterial inquiry was made into the charges against the conductors of the Vigna Pia at Rome, as a result of which the accusations were withdrawn on it being proved that in one solitary instance alone one of the teachers had administered punishment too severely, but that he had been immediately dismissed—and all this several months before the scandals.

27. The case of the St. Filippo Institute comes last in order of time, though it is by no means the least interesting of the scandals. The institute, which was founded some dozen years ago for derelict orphan boys, has for the past ten years been supported at his own expense and personally directed by Signor Leonori, a Roman architect, who is well and favorably known in England, Ireland, America and Egypt, where he has executed several important architectural works. Those who know him in Rome—and they are many—feel honored by his acquaintance, while I am personally able to say that I have long regarded him as the highest and best type of Christian gentleman I have ever had the pleasure of meeting.

During the years he has had charge of the St. Filippo Institute several boys, who, were it not for his charity and efficacious help, would be now in the streets or in prison, have passed through his hands and are occupying honest positions in various walks of life. Signor Leonori is well-to-do, but not rich. He has little to depend upon but his profession, but be it little or much, all has gone to the orphanage. That the institute was the most perfect in the world, he himself would doubtless be the last to assert or claim. His one object was to take those boys off the streets, give them a Christian education and enable them to win their way in an honest position in life. Hence he never pretended that the residence he had for them was palatial or that the lads were to dwell in marble halls, with vassals and serfs to wait on them; if he could only keep them neatly clad and wholesomely fed he was quite satisfied. How well he succeeded I was enabled to observe about two years ago on the occasion of his father's funeral. Amongst the hundreds of sympathizers of all grades and classes present in the church during the funeral service there was one group that surrounded the bier and attracted keen attention. This was the St. Filippo school to the number of about thirty boys, neatly clad in their gray jackets and looking as healthy as boys of their class can be supposed to look. And I well remember the remark made by some one on that occasion to the effect that few more touching tributes of respect to the memory of the dead gentleman and to his family could be imagined than the presence round the bier of those thirty youths thus charitably snatched from poverty or crime.

Signor Leonori was not a priest, but in the eyes of the scandal-

mongers he was just as bad—he was a Christian gentleman, whose delight it was to do good. And accordingly one fine day in August the police, acting on an anonymous denunciation, swooped down on the school, closed it up and in the interests of morality carried off the boys to that lay Institute Regina Elena, where, as already shown, real scandals had been proved to exist a very short time previously.

At once the gutter papers gave way to their imagination, and for days and days the foulest accusations and insinuations, the mildest of which was that of sexual perversion, were published broadcast over Rome and Italy. It will be as needless as impossible to enter into the nature of these. It is enough to give the result of the long and exhausting police inquiry which was published on September 30. Signor Leonori was acquitted "because of the absolute absence of any evidence against him."[6]

But, urges Dr. Robertson, we have it on the authority of a "Parliamentary report" that the real reason the priests were liberated was because the parents or guardians of the outraged children had been *squared* by the Church to withdraw the charges and decline to prosecute.

I may confess that I was very much puzzled to account for this statement. I knew that no Parliamentary commission or Parliamentary inquiry had been held on the subject of the scandals, and consequently I took it for granted that no Parliamentary report could have been issued with regard to the matter. I did remember, however, that during one of the sittings of Parliament a question had been put by Signor Daneo and an answer given more or less in the tenor of the passage cited by Dr. Robertson from his "Parliamentary report." On consulting the newspaper files I found[7] such was actually the fact; and not only this, but that the statements

[6] In spite of this fact, the St. Filippo Institute is still closed, and the poor lads who had found a home and bright prospects therein have been scattered to the four winds of heaven. The original reason assigned for closing the school was given out by the police authorities to be "repeated immoral deeds," which, they said, had been verified in connection with its management. But though the magisterial inquiry has shown this charge to be utterly groundless, the school remains definitely closed, official etiquette preventing the executive from admitting that the police had made a gross mistake, if not something worse. In connection with the fate of the poor lads whom Signor Leonori was saving from destruction, one particular incident deserves mention. A few years ago an individual presented himself at the institute and demanded one of the boys, who, he said, was his son. Signor Leonori refused to give up the boy, and referred him to the police, who reported the claim to be false, and authorized Signor Leonori to retain the boy. But on the closing of the school the same individual, who, by the way, had spent most of the interval in prison, presented his claim once more, and not in vain this time—the interests of morality, we may suppose, so demanding!

[7] The *Tribuna*, December 10.

given by Dr. Robertson were nothing more than expressions contained in that question and answer in Parliament—a far different thing from a "Parliamentary report." Hence when Dr. Robertson gives the words he quotes as words of a "Parliamentary report" he must be understood to mean nothing more than that they are taken from the newspaper report of a sitting of Parliament, though it would be interesting to guess how many of his readers could take that meaning from his words.

There can be little need to draw attention to the enormous difference this makes in the value to be attached to Signor Daneo's remarks on that occasion; but lest there should be any misunderstanding it will be well to take an analogous case.

On reading the newspaper report of any particular sitting of the House of Commons some day I come across something like this: "The Chief Secretary for Ireland, replying to Mr. MacVeagh, expressed his sympathy with the matter referred to, and stated that he fully agreed that the question of jury-packing was one calling for immediate action, and that it was actually occupying the attention of the Government, who were fully alive to the necessity of a much needed reform in the administration of the law in Ireland in this respect.

"Mr. MacVeagh in expressing his satisfaction remarked that the proposed action of the Government was calculated to remove a grave wrong. For it was nothing short of a shame and a scandal that those who were accused on even trumped-up charges in Ireland should, because of their religion or politics, be denied the most elementary right conferred by the British Constitution—the right to be tried by a jury chosen fairly and above board."

It is quite possible that some such expressions as these have been used in the House of Commons. But that makes no difference. Let us simply suppose they have and that the above is a correct version of a question and answer in Parliament. Now suppose further that after the lapse of about a fortnight a writer were to quote Mr. MacVeagh's words on that occasion as being taken from a "Parliamentary report," it is not too much to say that the public would be very much surprised, and no one more so than Mr. MacVeagh himself.

Italian members of Parliament are no more infallible in their questions and remarks than Irish members, and consequently we must decline to attach more importance to Signor Daneo's words than they really deserve—and that is just as much or just as little as the private opinion of any ordinary mortal.

It is, I believe, quite true that the law is such as Signor Daneo says, but this is still a long way off from being a proof that those

who have been charged with such crimes and are acquitted owe their liberty to that particular defect in the law. If the accused are innocent, as we have shown to be the fact in the cases already discussed at such length, it is much easier and more just to take it for granted that they were acquitted because they were innocent than because the law was defective.

After all that has been already set forth, there should be no need to dwell on Dr. Robertson's statement that "had this been the law, the result of the apprehension of vicious priests would have been very different from what it is," except to observe that if we take it for granted they were vicious we should, perhaps, take it for granted they were guilty; and if we take it for granted they were guilty, we are thereby taking for granted precisely that which should first of all be proved, since every law, both human and Divine, demands that a man be considered innocent until he is proved to be guilty. A few days ago I happened to read a newspaper report headed "A Yorkshire Horror." The accused parties were charged with barbarously ill-treating two little girls whom they had adopted. The case seemed to excite much attention and considerable manifestations of popular indignation, so much so that at the opening of the second day's trial "the chairman of the bench, Sir John Grant Lawson, remarked that the magistrates wished to express their opinion that it was a great disgrace that an attack should be made on the defendants. They had not been found guilty, and it was only fair to assume people innocent until they were proved guilty. The bench hoped those in court and outside would see that the defendants had fair play."

. . . . . .

That the tempest aroused by the scandals, baseless though they were, has completely ceased, no one who knows Italy will venture to assert. The devouring flames of savage fury that swept the country last August have indeed been smothered for the present, but finally extinguished—no. The storm has subsided, but the attentive mariner may still detect the mutterings of the troubled elements and may still read the signs that tell him he is still far from the harbor and from rest. True, indeed, the calmer and better instructed classes in general know very well that the angry passions aroused were the direct aim and outcome of a well planned anti-Catholic campaign, carried out through the agency of a section of the press for whom truth does not count and whose one standard is expediency. But it must be remembered that in times of great popular emotion the influence of such classes counts for little—at such a time it is the demagogue who truly sways the crowd of the rank and file. Such

is exactly what is happening in the present case. The press spared no pains to propagate the scandals and print them deep in the minds of the people at large; column after column, under the most glaring headings, was devoted to graphic and impressive descriptions of clerical scandals, which were all given as proved up to the hilt and as admitting of not the smallest shadow of doubt. It is true, indeed, that after the first wild outburst of panic the more respectable journals, such as the *Corriere della Sera* and the *Giornale d'Italia,* tried to make honorable amends for their incautious haste in accepting fable as fact; but the popular papers—the papers written for and read by the crowd—wanted no proof to the contrary. And the result is that even now, when the charges have been exploded, the people at large go on believing that all the deeds alleged were true and that those priests and monks and nuns are veritable monsters of iniquity, vampires devouring the land. And the pity of it is that even the little children in the streets have learned to insult the passing priest or religious by reference to the Salesians or other names that have been covered with opprobrium during the revelations, and they will grow up impressed with the memory of some ghastly horror—what is was they do not know nor will they care—inflicted on Italy by the clergy in the year of grace 1907.

I mention this point to show the utter dishonesty of the journals in question. They are responsible for the impression left on the popular mind. An honest report of the result of each charge would have rectified that impression, yet up to this very day that honest report has been carefully excluded from their columns, or, if admitted, has been relegated to miscroscopic type and obscure corners amongst the items of no importance.[8]

The consequences of a situation thus dishonestly created through the agency of a press allowed to run wild have been carefully and, I think, justly discussed by a writer in the December number of the *Rassegna Nazionale,* an independent and important Italian review of anything but strong clerical sympathies. The writer finds that the attitude of the government has been altogether too passive and remissive. It might, he allows, seem at first sight as if the government had fully done its duty when it had punished those who had been guilty of acts of violence, insult or outrage towards the ministers of religion, "but the very frequency of these regrettable incidents proves that they are due to a single common cause, which it is the duty of a government worthy of the name to discover and

[8] Thus the *Messaggero,* which had devoted several of its most important columns, under glaring headings, to the publication of the vilest and most sensational insinuations and accusations against Signor Leonori, could only afford nineteen lines of its fourth page to the result of the magisterial inquiry, which it printed without note or comment.

repress. Nor is it a very difficult task to identify this cause in the unrestrained propaganda that is endeavoring to stir up against religion and its ministers the basest passions of the people by simply saturating them with feelings of hatred.

"It is always the same—allow the seeds of hatred towards owners and capitalists to be sown day by day in the mind and heart of the people, and you will reap strikes and labor agitations and the explosion of brutal anger, venting itself in the destruction of machinery or of crops—perhaps, too, in dynamite outrages such as that recently committed against Signor Magni; allow contempt of authority to be instilled, and you will reap acts of rebellion against the forces of law and order and deeds of violence against the army officials, as recently at Alessandria; allow disrespect and hatred to be inculcated towards the ministers of religion, and you will reap insult offered to priests and outrages perpetrated against the Princes of the Church; allow hatred and contempt for the established order of things, and you will one day reap the result in the criminal act of some fanatic, intoxicated with perverse ideas, who strikes at him who represents and personifies such institutions.

". . . We cannot but insist on the absolute necessity of opposing this insane propaganda that is tending to destroy all; that spreads the poison of hatred for all persons and all things; that is assailing Church and State, authority and property, and that is aiming at the complete overthrow of all existing social institutions."

Now this can be done only one way—"by tracing the evil to its root and then unsparingly smiting it—preventing the wind from being sown to-day if we do not wish to reap the whirlwind to-morrow."

Owing to the political conditions of Italy for various years, each government was driven almost by force of necessity to live in an atmosphere of apparent hostility to the Church, so much so that a politician "who did not wish to lose his popularity had to do his best to avoid appearing in any way attached to the Church or to religious principles. In these circumstances it is not surprising if it was easy for interested parties to render productive the seeds of hatred towards religion and its ministers which had been scattered so profusely over the minds of the people and of the ignorant masses. To such an extent was this the case that a sect which desired to hide its own shortsighted, interested aims, and a party like that of the Radicals, which has no political cohesiveness, either in principles or in aims, have been able to live and assign a reason for their existence simply by raising the banner of anti-clericalism as their own, while other parties or politicians, finding themselves under the necessity of diverting public attention from the failure of their work and their

theories, have found no better means than that of creating the clerical danger in order to be able to pretend to combat it.

"This is precisely what is actually happening in the case of the Socialist party, who, deprived of all influence by their frequent failures in labor agitations and strikes, and finding themselves losing popularity, are trying to hide the defeat of their own social programme and to have their failure to keep their promises forgotten by rushing into the anti-clerical compaign and even putting themselves at its head. To this motive should be added another—the necessity, that is, of fighting the Catholics after the latter, entering into the administrative and political life, had shown themselves to be a force of the first order in defense of existing institutions against the various subversive parties.

"Hence it is that the Socialists have not hesitated to put themselves at the head of the anti-clerical movement (which more exactly should be called anti-religious), in spite of the fact that the logic of their principles compels them in theory to declare themselves indifferent in matters of religion. To try to justify this illogical attitude, they have been forced to proclaim that they combat religion simply because superstition and priestcraft must be trampled under foot, though they fail to remember that this view should lead them to combat all religions, whereas, on the contrary, we see them act hand and glove with many Jews and Protestants and coquet with their beliefs."

How just are these observations the reader will be able to see by referring to the three circulars already given, which were sent out on the first publication of the scandals.

A final word as to one other result of the case caused by "the disgusting accounts given with all the revolting details of a sensualism the most refined and the most contrary to the sacred laws of nature—details furnished in the very broadest and most undisguised language, thus teaching them to a multitude of souls who previously had not even suspected the possibility of such things, and, so to say, opening a new school of bestial license for boys and girls, into whose hands the daily paper unfailingly falls, and is all the more eagerly read by them the more it excites their morbid curiosity and the more it opens up the way to hitherto unknown sensual gratification by the unheard-of publication of that horrid, lecherous, descriptive catalogue of abominations which had never been seen or heard of before."[9] With good reason could a writer in the *Temps* declare that a "sinister cloud of immorality had been spread over all Italy."

Even were each and every one of the scandals true in every particular, it would still be difficult to justify the length to which the

[9] *Civiltà Cattolica*, September, 1907.

campaign has been carried. "Consider all states of life one by one," wrote Luther; "not one of them does God abandon to such an extent as to leave it without some good and honest man to make up for the scandals of the rest. Thus the good priests more than counterbalance the bad; unworthy monks are honored because of the worthy. But here we have thoughtless men rising up against the entire body as if they themselves were pure and stainless, whereas, interiorly and exteriorly, they are nothing better than a common market and exhibition of hogs and sows."[10]

J. Hagan.

Irish College, Rome.

THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY: A STUDY IN DECADENCE AND RENASCENCE.

THOUGH the word Renascence usually signifies the revival of letters in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it would be a mistake to suppose that there had never before been a movement in Western Europe to which the term may with justice be applied. The literary revival which occurred in Francia during the eighth century, though followed by a period which we are wont to style "the Dark Ages," well deserves to be called a Renascence. The fullness of growth which it actually attained may have been less than was promised in its youth; but this was due to external forces acting against those which promoted the revival; and for this very reason the significance of the movement is for us the greater. No movement, in fact, could better illustrate how much the rapid progress of science in these latter days owes to the stability of the political situation in which we Europeans find ourselves.

Mr. Balfour has recently said of "decadence" in his Henry-Sidgwick memorial lecture at Cambridge that it "never acts in isolation, but is always complicated by, and often acts through, more obvious causes." This is true not only of "decadence," but of "Renascence," and is especially true in the case of a literary Renascence. Literature gives voice to the spirit of the age, while the spirit of the age is, on the other hand, largely formed according to the ideas of its literary men. A Renascence in literature never "acts alone;" it is almost always either preceded or followed by great political events. The writings of Rousseau, Voltaire and the encyclopædists kindled in France the revolution of 1789. The destruction of the Eastern

[10] *Ep ad Rom.*, folio 281.

Empire and the discovery of America gave rise to the humanist revival of the sixteenth century, and this was followed by the Protestant Reformation. Earlier still we find the birth of scholasticism and the rise of the universities occurring just at the time when the petty states of Europe were fast consolidating into nations, and when the cities of Italy and France were winning for themselves the charters by which their privileges were defined and secured.

The Renascence of the eighth century and the decadence which immediately preceded it were no exceptions to the rule. Both were intimately connected with the political history of the age in which they occurred.

From the fifth century, when the Western Empire of the Romans finally broke up, down to the eighth century, when our revival of learning began, Europe had been the scene of a quick succession of changes, political and geographical. The Visigoths, the Emperors at Constantinople and the Lombards had followed one another as the dominant power in Italy. The Vandal kingdom in Africa had been conquered by Justinian and lost again to the Saracens. Spain, too, had just fallen under the yoke of Mohammed. The Eastern Empire and the Kingdom of the Franks alone had withstood with any success the attacks of invaders. Yet even to the latter peace was an utter stranger. At Constantinople revolutions occurred periodically in the beginning of every century; and, though new life was thus infused into the government, the Empire's boundaries were continually shrinking under the constant pressure of Saracen, Slav, Bulgarian and Avar. While in Francia from the very foundation of the kingdom there had been wars—foreign wars with Spain, Italy and the unconquered tribes of the Eastern frontier, and in the intervals civil wars, due in part to the unfortunate custom of "partitioning" the realm, and in part to the perpetual feud between Austrasia and Neustria. The Franks, whose territories were to be the home of the First Renascence, at present surpassed their neighbors only in the violence of their intrigues and the frequency of their warfare. Few histories are more horrible than that of Merovingian France.

No wonder, then, that a decadence of literature and learning should have occurred in a land so taken up with war and strife. No wonder that the municipal schools of what had once been the most flourishing of the Roman provinces before long ceased to exist. In one or two places letters were still studied. The monasteries of Luxeuil, St. Gall and Bobbio were still famous, and we hear of one Bishop who knew both Greek and Hebrew, and of another who complained that too much time was given to the study of Plato, Homer, Menander and Herodotus. But there were exceptions,

remarkable only by contrast with the general depravity and ignorance. For the most part, learning, secular and sacred, was neglected and forgotten. Monasticism, indeed, was spreading. Some two hundred monasteries already existed in the seventh century, and to many of them, as well as to the cathedrals, a school was attached. But neither monasteries nor episcopal schools could compete against the jealousy of nobles and the tyranny of Kings; nor could they, unaided, battle with the hard, uncultured spirt of a restless and warlike people. There was no one to teach and no one who cared to be taught. Regardless of the baneful consequences of such a patronage to the Church, the King and his Ministers filled bishoprics and abbacies with worthless favorites of the court. Bishops lived like secular lords, hunting, going to war, even taking part in plundering raids upon their neighbors. Abbots were illiterate, worldly and often so tyrannical in their methods of government that a decree was issued forbidding them to mutilate their monks. Under such circumstances to become a monk might afford men a refuge from the miseries of endless bloodshed and strife, and to join the ranks of the secular clergy might be an easy way to escape the burdens of the servile classes, but with superiors such as the crown and the nobility then chose to thrust upon them, neither priest nor monk was likely to do much to instruct the ignorant or elevate the minds of the people.

What I have said of France may be said also of Italy, where the Lombards were the ruling race, and of the East, where the Empire of Constantine still survived. The Lombards, though Christians in name, were still rude, uncivilized and a constant terror to the poor subject Italians, whom they regarded merely as objects of plunder. Learning on any large scale was impossible. But, just as in France we find an occasional break in the dull monotony of ignorance, so in Italy here and there a monastery stood with its library and its small company of student monks; and sometimes young men, filled with enthusiasm, would travel eastward in search of wisdom. Greek civilization, indeed, was much more familiar to the Italian than to the Frank. Southern Italy still belonged to Constantinople. The Balkan Peninsula was ecclesiastically under the jurisdiction of Rome, and in Rome itself there were Greek monasteries. But, alas, what good could come of this? The East itself was passing through a period of darkness, not only as regards her political, but also as regards her literary history. For her the seventh century produced no prose-literature save polemics; no poetry, with the single exception of George of Pisidia's Heracliad; no science, no philosophy, no art. Her very coins were ugly; their inscriptions illegible. At the end of the century there was not a

single Greek who cold be called a man of letters. The constitution and character of the Grecian people, if it is permissible to treat so heterogeneous a race on the analogy of a natural organism, had attained its maximum of development, social, political and artistic, centuries before, and had decayed. By the removal of the Latin capital to Byzantium, new life had been grafted on the old stem, and its decay arrested for a moment. But it was only for a moment. The Empire of Constantine manifested from the outset a tendency to disintegration, and in addition to this, like a weak and decrepid organism susceptible of every disease, was exposed to the ravages of Vandal, Hun and Goth. A people, however, capable of acquiring a degree of civilization and of culture as refined as that of the Greeks die but slowly. And the barbarian blood, which revolution after revolution poured into its veins, began after a time to act as a medicine, causing spasmodic outbursts of vigor and life; so that, faint as was the pulse-beat which now throbbed through the Empire of the East, it still had energy enough to produce a spontaneous, if passing, revival.

The state of the West was thus very different from that of the East. Constantinople was decadent with the "decadence of senility;" Western Europe was decadent, because men were either too engrossed in warfare to have time for higher pursuits, or too uncivilized to appreciate them. The Franks were still a young nation, which in its childhood had been subjected to the stern discipline of Rome and had acquired under foreign tuition no little proficiency in art and literature. But the strong hand which guided them had at length become weak, and with its withdrawal the pent-up physical energy of the brilliant but only half-formed Frank burst forth in unrestrained activity. From the time of Chlodovech to that of Charles Martel the nation gave itself up to a wild and lawless life. Its complex organism had developed too rapidly and was as yet fatally weak. Its parts were ill adjusted, their co-ordination incomplete. Above all, the control of a strong central government was entirely wanting.

Under such circumstances a decadence was inevitable; but it was by no means the decadence of old age. It resembled rather the deterioration of a youthful student, who, under the influence of external pressure, has given himself to intellectual pursuits, but, suddenly finding himself to be his own master, at once forgets his former habits in the delight of a licentious freedom. It was, moreover, a decadence which would cease, given a strong government to control the unruly passions of the race and tutors capable of arousing once more in the minds of men an esteem of learning and morality. Both conditions were fulfilled in the eighth century; the first from

within in the person of Pepin and Charlemagne, the second from without in the persons of Boniface and Alcuin. For the Frank was too ignorant now to teach himself; he had to look across the seas to Teuton England for the scholars who were to rekindle in his nation the smouldering embers of civilization.

Ireland and England at the very epoch when on the continent literary pursuits were well-nigh forgotten, could boast of many a school famous for its learning, many a monastery illustrious for its scholars. I mention Ireland first, for England's star of learning had but recently shone forth in all its brilliance and was soon to become obscured, whereas Ireland, from the time when St. Patrick planted his seminaries there in the fifth century, had been in very truth an "Isle of Scholars." Anglo-Saxon England, however, thanks partly to the influx of Irish scholars, partly to the strict discipline and Grecian culture which Theodore had introduced, was now at the zenith of her literary fame. At the beginning of the eighth century she could boast of an Aldhelm, a Benedict Biscop, a Wilfrid and a Bede. The course of studies pursued in her chief monastic schools included all the liberal arts, many Latin authors, poetical and prose, often a little Greek, in addition to the Scriptures and the Fathers. In the north stood the famous monasteries of Jarrow and Wearmouth; in the south, the school of Theodore at Canterbury, where copies of Virgil, Lucan, Juvenal and Persius were to be found, together with Josephus and a Hebrew text of the Bible, while further west, in the land whose laws King Ine was then collecting and arranging, stood the school of Aldhelm at Malmesbury.

It was in this land of Wessex that St. Boniface, or to use his Saxon name, St. Wilfrid, was born in the year A. D. 780. And in spite of Mullinger's remark that "for learning itself Boniface effected little" (page 46, "Schools of Charles the Great"), I think we shall be able to establish his claim to rank as one of the leaders in the first revival of letters in the West. The learned writer, indeed, himself tells us that Boniface was famed as a scholar in his day, "is said" to have composed a treatise on the eight parts of speech, "was believed" to be a master of the metrical art, and "appears" to have been distinguished as a theologian of the mystic school of Cassian. "Of the general direction of his influence, therefore, there can," he concludes, "be no doubt, as strongly favoring a revival of letters as well as of discipline." But let us examine for ourselves in what this "general direction of his influence" consists.

It is beyond dispute, of course, that Boniface's primary object was the conversion rather than the education of Germany. He went there to carry on the work of St. Willibrord, the apostle and martyr of Friesland. But, himself a great scholar who had been trained

in the school of Nutschell in Hampshire, where, as scholasticus, he had taught Latin verse to religious of both sexes, he naturally had a great esteem for secular learning. On leaving England in 718, he traveled through Frisia, Thuringia, Bavaria and Hesse, establishing bishoprics, organizing dioceses, founding or reforming monasteries; and with the monastery and cathedral, as usual, came the school. There were elementary schools, intended to raise the tone of morality and civilization among the people at large—and these perhaps bear the stronger testimony to the educational zeal of the saint—while others more advanced were meant to afford clerics and monks an opportunity of continuing their studies in preparation for the priesthood and the work of teaching others. Many were the scholars who flocked to the continent to assist the saint in his labors, and among them women *valde eruditae in liberali scientia.* The educational zeal of Englishmen of the eighth century would compare well with that of our forefathers a hundred years ago, especially when we reflect that in order to build a monastery or a school the monks themselves had to cut down the wood, clear and level a plot of ground, as well as erect the building itself.

The news of what St. Boniface and his disciples were doing among the tribes who lay to the east of Francia soon spread, and this, together with urgent letters of appeal from Boniface himself, induced King Pepin to undertake the reform of the clergy and to interest himself in the education of his people in Francia. The long period of civil disorder which we have described above had now practically ceased. Charles Martel, as Mayor of the Palace, ruled with an iron hand, and on the accession of his son to the throne in 751 the Merovingian dynasty came to an end and the crown passed from the nominal to the real rulers of the realm. Meanwhile the turbulent baronage had been forced to submit to the authority of the King, the Eastern frontier strengthened by the reduction of those Teutonic tribes among whom St. Boniface was laboring, and the South and West cleared of the Saracens by the battle of Poitiers in 732. Ten years later the first German council was held at Saltz, and shortly afterwards another at Soissons. The evils which had resulted from the abuse of the royal patronage were checked. Several Bishops were deposed by an act of secularization and the unruly princes of the Frankish Church, who rendered obedience to no metropolitan, were once again brought under the authority of the Bishop of Rome.

The restoration of ecclesiastical discipline was the primary cause and necessary condition of the revival of learning. The schools were now reopened, the instruction of youth, which had always been considered an essential part of the office of the Church, was once more taken up by seculars and regulars, and the *scriptoria* of the

monasteries were again filled with monks engaged in study and in the transcription of manuscripts.

All this was due to the influence of St. Boniface and to his remarkable talent for organization. To say, then, that his labors "strongly favored a revival of letters" is to allot him a modicum of praise. His foundations in Germany tended directly not only to Christianize, but to civilize the people. But more significant still is his zeal for elementary education and his order that the vernacular should be used for public instructions and even for the prayers of the Church so far as this was possible.

The labors of Boniface, however, would have produced in all probability but little permanent fruit had it not been for the enthusiasm with which the work that he had begun was taken up by Charles the Great and Alcuin, his famous Minister of Education. Charles succeeded to the throne of his father, Pepin, in 768, and three years later became sole ruler through the retirement of his brother, Carloman. For the first twelve years of his reign his energies were chiefly devoted to wars of conquest. He subjugated Saxony and Lombardy, overran Bavaria and made that famous expedition into Spain which ended in the battle of Roncesvalles and the death of Roland. After 780 the organization of his vast dominions for the most part engaged his attention, but frontier wars still continued. Four rebellions were quelled in Saxony, Bohemia was conquered, the Avar and Slav were driven back and forced to pay tribute, the March of Spain was taken from the Saracens. Finally, in the last week of the eighth century, came the culminating triumph—the nominal jurisdiction of Constantinople was rejected, Charles the Great became Emperor of the West.

Territorial expansion inevitably carries with it an increase of responsibility, and Charles would indeed have a heavy task if he was to provide for the spiritual and intellectual as well as the material wants of his vast Empire. He did not shrink from his responsibilities, however, and wherever he went seems from the outset to have been on the lookout for scholars who should be able to carry on the work begun by Boniface and Pepin. At first his search was not altogether successful. In the early part of the reign we find only three men of any literary worth at the imperial court—the old grammarian, Peter of Pisa; Paul, the deacon of Pavia, who knew some Greek and a little Hebrew and is responsible for a history of the Lombards in dialectic Latin, and Einhard, a scholarly writer, trained in Boniface's school at Fulda, to whom we owe a life of Charlemagne and a history of the Franks from 741 to 829. But in 781 Charles secured the services of Alcuin, who had already made his name as scholasticus of Egbert's famous school at York, and so

was able to carry out his great idea of a universal revival of learning throughout the Empire. In 787 appeared the first Capitulary exhorting the monks to study and urging Bishops and prelates to choose out men "both able and willing to learn and desirous of instructing others." The Capitularies of 789 repeated these instructions and also ordered that no monastery or cathedral should be without its school, and that the sons of freemen as well as of serfs should be educated for the priesthood. But the Capitulary of 802 is the most remarkable, since it prescribes that "*every one* is to send his sons to school, where they are to remain until such time as they shall be deemed to be well instructed in learning." The Bishops seconded the efforts of the King, one of them, the Bishop of Lyons, establishing free schools in every town and village of his diocese. Moreover, Missi-Dominici were appointed, generally from the friends and pupils of Alcuin, whose special function was to travel about the country and see that the royal instructions were carried into effect.

The schools which thus arose were of four kinds. There was the village school, in which elementary instruction was given by the priest to the children confided to his care, and the extern monastery school, where boys, whether intended for the priesthood or not, were taught grammer, arithmetic, church music, religious doctrine and the elements of astronomy. Then there were the higher grade schools, the cathedral school and the intern monastery schools, in which the quality of the teaching varied much in accordance with the extent and wealth of the establishment, the promising scholars of a poor foundation often being sent to a richer one for the completion of their education. Lastly, there was the palace school, where were to be found the most learned men that the wealth and influence of the Emperor could produce. It seems to be fairly well established that there was already a palace school when Alcuin arrived at the royal court, but under his supervision its importance was certainly much increased. At the palace school itself the members of the royal family and the sons of the nobility were educated, but there was also another, perhaps a separate branch, in which young men and boys were trained at the King's expense with a view to their filling later on various offices in Church and State. The pupils, who were placed under Alcuin's charge, traveled about with the court, and in them the King took a personal interest, often acting as examiner and offering rewards to the boys who did best in their compositions.

The studies pursued in the palace school and in many of the larger monastic and cathedral schools of Francia enable us to form some idea of the standard of learning attained by the scholars of Alcuin's

day. They were divided into a *trivium,* comprising grammar, rhetoric and dialectics, and a *quadrivium,* consisting of music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy. Of the trivium grammar was considered to be the most important. Grammar in Roman times implied a study of Greek and Latin authors, and in the latter Alcuin himself was distinctly well versed, especially in Virgil. He speaks, moreover, of "intoxicating his scholars with the wine of the ancients," yet it would seem that his esteem for the classics decreased in later years, and since his acquaintance with Greek was very superficial, "grammar" for him came to mean little more than a knowledge of how to spell, to punctuate and to construe. For rhetoric the minor treatises of Aristotle and Cicero were used, but little attention was paid to style, and dialetics, for which the treatise of Isodore was used, was not much cultivated in any of the Gregorian or Saxon schools, the Fathers of the Church, Jerome, Tertullian, Basil, having expressed an adverse opinion in regard to its controversial value. The study of music, the first art of the quadrivium, on the other hand, was held in great esteem. King Pepin had already taken measures to reform the music of the Frankish Church, and Charles, besides establishing academies of music at Metz and Soissons, ordered that it should be taught in all the minor schools, and recommended the peasants to sing the canticles of the Church on their way to and from Mass. Boethius was the text-book for music, as also for arithmetic and geometry, and his translations of Nicomachus' arithmetic and of the first four books of Euclid fairly represent the extent of the knowledge then current in these subjects. The last art of the quadrivium, astronomy, partly on account of its practical utility in the construction of a calendar, partly, doubtless, because of its connection with astrology, was very popular in those days. It was the favorite study of Charles himself, and its problems frequently formed the subject matter of disputations between Saxon and Irish scholars, whose opinions in regard to the date of Easter were still at variance.

The standard of learning which was reached by the first Renascence, if compared with what we now understand by learning, was undoubtedly low, lower by far than the learning of ancient Greece and Rome. Even in theology, though the knowledge which an eighth century student had of this first and foremost of all his studies was by no means insignificant, nothing new was added to what had already been done in a previous age. The text of the Scriptures was carefully studied, great facility in their choice and use of quotations being much insisted on, and the Latin was compared with the Greek and Hebrew versions; yet there was no research, in the modern sense of the word. All argument was based on authority, of which there

was a plentiful supply at hand in the works of Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, Bede and some few Latin translations of Greek Fathers. In the Fathers the more advanced students were well read, and in allegorical interpretation displayed considerable ingenuity, but speculative theology was quite foreign to the school of theologians to which Alcuin belonged.

The supreme importance of theology in the mind of the student of this period is significant, since it gave a religious tone to the whole movement. The liberal arts were studied mainly as a preparation for the higher study of Scripture and the Fathers. They were a means to an end. The first capitulary, for instance, exhorted men to learning and especially to clear thought and correct language in order that they might be able to penetrate with greater ease and certainty the mysteries of Holy Scripture; and for this a knowledge of grammar and dialectics was required. Again, the offices of the Church demanded a certain familiarity with the theory and practice of music, while arithmetic, geometry and astronomy were needed for calculating the dates of the movable feasts of the year. Secular learning certainly suffered much on account of its subordination to theology, yet there was this advantage gained, that the course of studies then followed formed one whole, directed and controlled throughout by unity of purpose, whereas in our modern system of excessive specialization, water-tight compartments, so to speak, are inevitable, and a man may rank high as a mathematician or a physicist and yet be ignorant of the very elements of some sister science, without which his own would be meaningless.

In the course of studies prescribed for the lower grade schools the same singleness of purpose dominated the whole. Man was to be educated and civilized by means of Christianity. Education, therefore, like Christianity, was for all men, rich and poor alike; and, being of obligation, it was necessarily free. Its aim, too, was both practical and comprehensive. No aspect or faculty of human nature was to remain undeveloped. Intellectual training in classics and mathematics was not the only benefit a school was intended to confer on its pupils. Their gentler and more emotional qualities were to be brought out by the study of music. The educational value of music seems, indeed, to have been realized by the Franks more clearly than it is by English educationalists of the present day, and this in spite of our more perfect knowledge of the art, and in spite of difficulties peculiar to the Franks, who, so we are told by John the Deacon, owing to the "barbarous harshness of their cracked throats, when by inflections and reverberations they endeavored to emit a gentle psalmody, out of a certain natural harshness sent forth grating sounds like that of carts on a highway." The moral and

religious side of human nature was cultivated even more assiduously than the intellectual and æsthetic. In the actual working of a class, if we may judge from Alcuin's own writings, no opportunity of inculcating moral truths was allowed to slip by. His "Dialogues" define "speaking" as "the interpreter of the soul," and "air" as "the guardian of life," definitions which obviously point to some moral lesson which the teacher was intended to draw. Above all, idleness was to be avoided. The schools were divided into classes, but for each subject there was a different master, to whom the classes went in turn. By this means Alcuin hoped to prevent boys "running about in idleness or occupying themselves with silly play" (inanos ludos); for recreation, in his opinion, should consist in change of work rather than in its cessation.

The unity of conception and the high moral tone of schools established under the direction of Alcuin entitles him to a high place among educational reformers. When he arrived at the court of Charles, bringing with him all the learning of Northumbrian England, he found that Boniface, his fellow-countryman, had restored the discipline of the clergy and had already called into existence many monasteries and schools; but it was to Alcuin that Francia owed that systematic organization of cathedral, monastic and parish schools which gave to the first Renascence a stability it would not otherwise have possessed. On the other hand, we must not forget that without the strong government of a Pepin and the able administration and enthusiastic support of a Charlemagne, no revival at all would have been possible. The saint, the scholar and the King each played a necessary though a different part in the Renascence, which, coming as it did at a time when the kingdom was enjoying a period of internal peace, came to stay. The character and temper of the nation was now sufficiently mature to appreciate the advantages of civilization, and never again did the Franks lose all esteem for a higher culture and all desire for better things as completely as they had done after the departure of their first tutors, the Romans. Abbacies and bishoprics were now occupied by learned men—Theodulf, Arno, Riculf, Rigbod, Leidrad, Adelhard, Augilbert and many others—all of them the friends or the pupils of Alcuin, and by these men the tradition of learning was handed on in its full vigor for a century and a half. In spite of revolts provoked by Lewis' excessive vigor, in spite of the dissensions of his sons and the splitting of the Empire into fragments, in spite of the ravages of the Danes and the destruction of many a city, monastery and school, zeal for learning grew rather than diminished in intensity and scope as the versatile mind of the Frank developed. Rabanus of Fulda, the pupil of Alcuin, was a man of more liberal views than his master, with a

greater esteem for rhetoric, dialectic, literature and philosophy, while his pupil, Lupus Servatus, studied the classics for the pleasure they gave him and for the sake of the refining influence they had on his mind. The foundation of large libraries also did much to encourage the study of the classics, and the constant influx of Irish scholars did still more. Scotus Erigena, whose intellect reveled in speculation and whose knowledge of Greek evoked the admiration of the Papal librarian, attracted to his lectures students from all parts. Indeed, so great was his fame that "nearly all Ireland," we are told, "disdaining the perils of the sea, had sought in voluntary exile to subserve the wishes of one who was a Solomon in wisdom." Then, in the tenth century, we have Remy of Auxerre, who opened a free, public and non-ecclesiastical school at Paris—the nucleus of the later university—and who reëstablished the schools of the Diocese of Rheims, including the great school of Rheims itself, from which came the famous Pope Sylvester II.

Each of these men had his own peculiar characteristics; each did a great work for education; each gave a new phase, and a more advanced phase to the Renascence. And gradually as scholar succeeding scholar brought fresh ideas, fresh vigor, fresh discoveries, the era which Boniface and Alcuin had inaugurated grew almost imperceptibly in the era of scholasticism and the universities. One thing alone prevents us from treating the two movements as one and the same, the decline which ensued during the utter confusion of the closing decades of the tenth century; but, if the first Renascence does at last appear to fade, it is only to make way for a second Renascence, of which itself was the cause and of which the zeal of Boniface and the organizing genius of Alcuin were in reality the foundation.

The Renascence of the eighth century had come to stay because it appeared at a time when the mind of the Frank was ripe to receive it; because until the previous outburst of intellectual activity in the Roman province of Gaul it was no premature development destined to meet with an untimely end, but the spontaneous production of a people endowed with literary genius and sufficiently old to be able to appreciate the value of their gift. And the same reasons would lead us to hope with Mr. Balfour that the enthusiasm for science and education now prevalent in Europe has also come to stay. But there is this difference between the present position of European nations and that of Francia in the time of Charlemagne—the nations of Western Europe are now old, if they are not senile, whereas the Franks had all the vigor and unconquerable energy of youth. We have had our Renascences, they had as yet had none. There was besides deep rooted in the hearts of the Franks a strong faith in the

supernatural, an appeal to which would never fail to stir them to energetic activity in the cause of reform; but with us religion seems to be waning and an agnostic or a pantheistic naturalism has to a large extent usurped its place. Our modern civilization seems, in fact, to resemble rather that of ancient Rome in the Golden Age than it does that of Francia in the time of Alcuin. If, then, a crisis comes, shall we survive? If the latent hostility of rival powers once more breaks out in open war or if the forces which at present threaten the very basis of society gain the day, will our literature, our science and our civilization persist, as did that of the Franks, in spite of circumstances? It is impossible to say. The issue will depend upon the degree of our senility. But whether we incline to an optimistic or a pessimistic view in regard to the future, this at least is certain, that a learned nation is impossible so long as social disunion and political strife absorb its energies, and that just as the brilliance of the Caroling revival grows dim amid the constant wars and widespread confusion of the Dark Ages, so, too, with us the social revolution which looms darkly ahead, if it come to pass, will retard the progress of civilization and lead, if not to a permanent, at least to a temporary decadence.

Leslie J. Walker, S. J.

Chesterfield, England.

THE ANCIENT COLLEGIATE CHURCHES OF SCOTLAND.

THE student of the ecclesiastical history of Scotland cannot help being struck by the fact that successive epochs are strongly marked by the prevalence in each of some special religious institute. Thus the Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries and houses of Canons Regular sprang into life during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; friaries of the Mendicant Orders arose later, most of them being founded in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though some of them as late as the early years of the sixteenth. The fifteenth century, speaking broadly, was the period when foundations of a monastic character ceased, and in their place rose up the institutes known as collegiate. For from the later years of the fourteenth century up to the second decade of the sixteenth, as many as forty of such foundations were made—an unusually large proportion, considering the size of the country and the number of the parochial clergy.

Since many persons not thoroughly conversant with the distinctive

character of the various ecclesiastical foundations may desire some explanation of the nature of a collegiate establishment, it may be well to give it in a few words. The title "collegiate" is derived from the Latin word *collegium,* a term signifying a body of persons collected together for the carrying out of some special office or calling. As applied to the establishments we are considering, the name refers to the union of the clergy composing the staff of each particular church of the kind. Their duty was to celebrate with the solemnity due to each recurring season or festival the services of the church to which they were attached. In certain instances they were required to take charge of some educational establishment or hospital or almshouse, but not necessarily. The carrying out of all that belonged to the solemn and public worship of God was their first and chief aim. Thus, not only were they bound to celebrate Mass at certain times and for certain fixed intentions, as their founder might require, but the whole of the appointed service of each day had to be regularly carried out. Not only must they provide a sung Mass daily (sometimes even two or three), but the Divine Office of the Church, which every priest is bound to recite, had to be chanted in the church by the whole body.

In these days, when clergy are much less numerous, and when the services of the Church are necessarily shorn of much of their due solemnity, the Divine Office is little understood by the laity. They are aware that a priest is bound to "say Office" every day, and that is all that most people know about the subject. The real fact is that the clergy, by the recitation of their daily Office, are offering the official worship of the Church. Just as no priest may please his own fancy about what saint he shall honor by his Mass on any particular day, but must follow the arrangement drawn up for him by ecclesiastical authority, so in like manner is he bound to the recitation of certain psalms, hymns and other specified forms of prayer proper to each day.

In the early ages of the Church the faithful knew and appreciated the arrangement of festivals and seasons and to a great extent were familiar with the details of worship connected with each. The authorized public worship was celebrated regularly and solemnly in all cathedrals, which set an example to the churches of the diocese. In the numerous monasteries, which at a very early period began to spring up in every country of Christendom, the chief duty of the inmates, according to the injunction of St. Benedict, the Father of the Monks of the Western Church, was the singing of the Divine Office at certain stated hours of each day and night. It was in this way, throughout successive ages, that the duty of the public worship of God was kept before the minds of the people. Not only in

cathedrals and monasteries, but in parish churches everywhere, the Divine Office was a familiar part of the service of at least Sundays and holy days. Matins and Mass and Vespers, at least, were duly carried out, the faithful joining in each to the best of their ability—singing or reciting with the priest and clerks, if possible, or uniting their intention with the Office of the day while they recited their rosary or other vocal prayers.

The collegiate churches, of which we are treating, were established to carry out such public Divine worship after the manner of the cathedrals and monasteries of the country. Examples will be given later of the detailed arrangement of services in some of them, which will enable the reader to form an accurate conception of their general character.

The clergy who constituted the collegiate body were secular priests. They were presided over by a superior, who bore the title of provost, or in some instances dean. Each member of the body was supported by an annual income furnished by the rent of lands or other property. Such income was entitled a prebend, and the cleric who benefited by it the prebendary of such and such lands or property. Other benefices were frequently added to provide certain specified Masses at stated times, either for the founder of the benefice and his family or for the reigning sovereign or other particular intention. As an example may be quoted the benefice founded at Biggar collegiate church in 1531 by John Tweedie, of Drummelzier, for the soul's rest of John, Lord Fleming, Chamberlain of Scotland, whom he and his son had slain while hawking seven years before.

Some historians are puzzled to account for the "passion"—as they style it—for erecting collegiate churches during the period when their foundation became so prevalent in Scotland. It has been suggested that the religious orders had become so relaxed that they were regarded with less enthusiasm by the pious and devout who were anxious to bestow their worldly substance upon the worship of God. There is no proof, however, that monasteries had regenerated to such an extent as to have forfeited the confidence of good Catholics; the evil of nominal superiors, presented to the office for the sake of reaping its emoluments merely, though it had lowered considerably the standard of earlier and more fervent ages, had not killed the old religious spirit—as witness the many monks who clung to their desecrated and ruined homes for years after the Reformation had become an accomplished fact at Dunfermline, Paisley, Kelso, Crossraguel, Pluscarden, Sweetheart, Dundrennan and elsewhere.

A more probable reason would seem to be the dearth of monastic and religious vocations in an age which was undoubtedly relaxed in fervor. The houses already existing were more than capable of

containing all who felt a call to cloistral or regular life;-to multiply them, therefore, would not appeal to those who desired to see some practical result from their generosity. The establishment of a collegiate church would provide for the increase of centres of canonical worship by means of the secular clergy.

To this another reason may be added. A collegiate church might be and in many cases was founded in connection with some parish church already in existence; the changes necessary, in the shape of additional clergy, etc., could be accomplished far more easily and at a less pecuniary sacrifice than the building and endowing of a religious house. Thus persons of only moderate means at their disposal might bring about, as far as the public, solemn worship of God was concerned, what it had cost Kings and nobles in earlier ages a fortune to effect.

One aspect of the case must not be overlooked. The number of the foundations of the kind brought about in a comparatively short space of time is, without doubt, a strong argument that the old Catholic instincts of zeal for God's honor and glory, and generosity in providing for His fitting worship, were still living and active in the hearts of many of the great ones of the nation.

Before speaking in detail of such churches as may present facts worthy of note in their respective histories, it may be well to give in tabulated form a list of them, arranged according to the counties in which they were situated. The date of the foundation is given in all cases that can be ascertained with sufficient accuracy:

Aberdeen—New Aberdeen, St. Nicholas', 1441; Old Aberdeen, King's College, 1505.

Argyle—Kilmund, 1442.

Ayr—Maybole, 1371-1441; Kilmaurs, 1403.

Banff—Cullen, 1543; Kinnethmont.

Dumbarton—Dumbarton, 1450.

Fife—St. Andrew's, St. Mary's, St. Salvator's, 1458; St. Leonard's, 1512; Crail, 1517.

Haddington—Dunbar, 1342-1392; Yester, 1418-1420; Dirleton, 1444-1446; Dunglas, 1450; Seton, 1493.

Inverness—Abernethy, about 1460.

Kirkcudbright—Lincluden, 1400.

Lanark—Bothwell, 1398; Carnwarth, 1424; Hamilton, 1451-1462; Glasgow, 1528; Biggar, 1545.

Linlithgow—Linlithgow.

Mid-Lothian—Dalkeith, 1406; Corstorphine, 1429; Roslin, 1446; Crichton, 1449; Edinburgh, St. Mary's, Holy Trinity, 1450; St. Giles', 1466; Restalrig, 1487-1515.

Peebles—Peebles, 1542.

Perth—Methven, 1433-1439; Tullibardine, 1446.
Renfrew—Sempil, or Lochwinnoch, 1505.
Ross—Tain, 1481.
Stirling—Stirling, 1501.

The collegiate church of Dunbar claims first mention, not from any unusually interesting facts connected with its history, but because it was the first establishment of the kind ever founded in Scotland and one of the most liberally equipped. It owed its origin to Patrick, Earl of March, who procured its confirmation in 1342 from William, Bishop of St. Andrew's, it diocesan. The founder provided for the sustentation of a dean, an archpriest and eighteen canons or prebendaries by bestowing upon his foundation the revenues of certain churches in his patronage, in addition to the church of Dunbar and chapels in the neighborhood. Later on other revenues were added. The founder reserved to himself and his family the right of presentation to the benefices. It is but natural to find the preference given to members of the founder's family, and accordingly the mention of a Columba Dunbar as dean in 1411 creates no surprise. By the forefeiture of the Earldom of March, under James I., the patronage of the church fell to the crown.

The cruciform church, 123 feet in length and 83 across the transepts, stood on elevated ground 65 feet above the sea. Its site is now occupied by a modern Gothic church for Presbyterian worship.

Bothwell owed its collegiate establishment in 1398 to Archibald, surnamed "The Grim," Earl of Douglas. Froissart thus describes him: "Archibald Douglas, a worthy knight and much dreaded by his enemies." His sword, according to the same chronicler, did deadly work. "Its blade was of two ells; scarcely could another man raise it from the ground, yet he wielded it with ease. He dealt such heavy blows with it that wherever he reached he overthrew. Before him the hardiest of the English army shrank." So fierce a warrior would hardly be expected to give his mind to the foundation of an ecclesiastical establishment of the kind, yet he it was who converted the parish church of Bothwell into a collegiate church served by a provost and eight prebendaries. The provost was rector of the parish. The clergy had each a house and yard near the church, and though the houses had disappeared in 1795, a writer of the period relates that the titles "Vicar Yard," "Prebend Yards" had survived till that date.[1]

The ruins of the choir of the old church are still to be seen near the modern church erected in 1833. Up to 1795 it was in use for Presbyterian worship. It was dedicated to St. Bride, patron saint of the Douglas family. The founder was laid to rest there in the middle

[1] "Statistical Account of Scotland," Bothwell.

of the choir, though no monument remains to mark the place. The founder's daughter, Marjory, was married in this church in 1400 to the hapless David, Duke of Rothesay, eldest son of Robert III. Two years later David was brutally starved to death by his unnatural uncle, the Duke of Albany, in Falkland Castle.

One of the provosts of this church, John Ralston, became Bishop of Dunkeld, and in 1449 was made Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. Another, George Hepburn, held the same important office, and later on was raised to the See of the Isles. He was slain with James IV. on the fatal field of Flodden in 1513.

Lincluden was originally founded for Benedictine nuns in the latter half of the twelfth century by Uchtred, son of Fergus, Lord of Galloway. The founder was buried there in 1174. Towards the close of the fourteenth century Archibald the Grim, already mentioned in connection with Bothwell, who was Lord of Galloway, expelled the community and changed the character of the establishment by obtaining its erection into a collegiate church.

Chroniclers of the fact cannot satisfactorily account for a proceeding so arbitrary. The nuns were accused of "insolence." Dr. Hill Burton says of Major, a sixteenth century writer, that he "volunteers to speculate that they must have been conspicuous for incontinence, otherwise the good earl never would have expelled them."[2] Upon so slight a foundation as this, Protestant authorities up to the present day perpetuate the tradition that these nuns had shown themselves unfaithful to their solemn vows! A noteworthy exception, the learned George Chalmers, in his "Caledonia," assigns a different motive for the suppression. Speaking of Archibald, he says: "His object appears to have been less religious than interested. He founded a collegiate church as a more commodious means of providing for the numerous dependents of the Douglas family, while they remained the lords of Galloway." It is noteworthy that the earl added nothing to the original endowment of the older foundation.

Lincluden College consisted of a provost and twelve prebendaries. It seems to have been reconstituted in later centuries, as at the period of the Reformation it had eight prebendaries only, and attached to it were twenty-four bedesmen and a chaplain. The latter had been provided for by Margaret, daughter of Robert III. and widow of the Duke of Turenne, a member of the Douglas family. This lady was a munificent benefactress to Lincluden and was buried there in a splendid tomb described by an eighteenth century traveler. It is now much mutilated.

From the remains of the church still to be seen, it is evident that the building was of great beauty. It was in decorated style and

[2] "Billings' Ecclesiastical Antiquities," Lincluden.

very rich in details. The vaulted roof has been compared with that of King's College, Cambridge. Nothing now exists of the residences of the prebendaries except a portion of the provost's dwelling.

An eighteenth century traveler found there considerable remains of well-planned gardens. Even now an artificial mound, encircled by a spiral path, forms a prominent feature of the precincts. From its summit the present writer gained a striking view of the beautiful country lying around when he visited the interesting ruins. More than twenty years after the Reformation Lord Herries had Mass said in the church at Christmas, in open defiance of the Protestant authorities.

The beginnings of the establishment for a collegiate body at Maybole, in Ayrshire, may be traced to a chapel founded in 1371 and dedicated to Our Lady by Sir John Kennedy. It stood near the parish church of that place. There were attached to it a clerk and three chaplains to pray for the welfare of the founder, his wife and their children during life and after death. It developed into a collegiate church later. The ground now occupied by the town of Maybole was the property of this church. At the Reformation the Earl of Cassilis took possession of the revenues and paid a third to the provost and canons for their lives.

Like Lincluden, this church was memorable for the exhibition of Catholic intrepidity after the Reformation. In 1563 the Kennedys, with 200 armed followers, braved the law by having Mass offered there on May 19. They were prosecuted and imprisoned for their contumacy.

The Church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, a beautiful building more than 200 feet long, adorned with lofty tower and spire, served as the parish church of the portion of the city known as New Aberdeen. In 1441 Bishop Law made it collegiate, providing for a vicar, a curate and twenty-four chaplains; the number of the latter was reduced in 1519 to sixteen. Within this glorious Gothic church, the pride of the city, stood as many as thirty-one altars, many of them specially endowed. Among them were those dedicated to the Holy Rood, St. Michael, St. Peter, St. John, St. Clement, St. Lawrence, St. Nicholas, St. Ninian, St. Duthac and St. Catherine. The magistrates took a delight in adding to the adornments of their church and in carrying out from time to time any necessary improvements or restorations. When in 1514 they sought the help of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary and their patron, St. Nicholas, in time of pestilence, they levied a tax for providing needed vestments, vessels, song books and other furniture for the church. As the burg records show, many of the fines levied upon offenders against the municipal laws were devoted to the same end.

At the Reformation Presbyterianism knew not what to do with a building of such dimensions, with its carved rood screen and stalled choir. So a solid wall was built to divide nave from choir and provide two separate places of worship. This absurd arrangement still continues, though both the East and west churches, as the conventicles are called, have undergone so much alteration that little remains to identify them with the ancient Church of St. Nicholas.

Andrew, second Lord Gray of Fowlis, was founder in 1446 of the collegiate church of Fowlis Easter, in Forfarshire. The little church, in Gothic style, is 89 feet long by 29 wide. It is principally remarkable for the remains of some unusually fine paintings in oil which have been discovered upon a carved rood screen within it. These pictures are thus described by one who has examined them minutely:

"Marking the boundary of the chancel, a screen is carried across the whole width of the church, and on its west side are some singular and well-executed paintings in oil of ancient date, done on oak panels, representing the Crucifixion, the Blessed Virgin Mary with the Infant Saviour, St. John the Baptist holding in one hand an Agnus Dei, to which he is pointing with the other; a dead Christ, St. Peter and other single figures of both sexes. The picture of the Crucifixion, which is the largest of the series, represents Jesus suspended between the two thieves and surrounded by the chief priests, soldiery and a miscellaneous throng of attendants and spectators, among which is one with a ruddy countenance expressive of sardonic joy and wearing a cap fashioned like that found on the head of the ancient court fool or his bauble. In one of the upper corners an angel is receiving the departing spirit of the pardoned malefactor, which is figured like a tadpole with the head and shoulders of a child, while on the other hand a fiend in the shape of a dragon is preparing to lay hold of the flitting soul of his less favored companion."[3]

It is supposed that the whole wall surface of this little collegiate church was adorned in like manner, but that the paintings were destroyed at the Reformation by tearing down the plaster. The screen was thickly coated with whitewash, and hence the pictures there were preserved. They were discovered about the middle of the last century. From their style they are supposed to have been the work of an artist of the Flemish school.

No particulars remain concerning the constitution of this collegiate establishment.

Roslin Chapel, as it is popularly called, stands about seven miles distant from Edinburgh. It is the chancel and Lady chapel—for

[3] "Descriptive Notices of Ancient Parochial and Collegiate Churches of Scotland" (London, 1848), p. 134.

no more was ever completed—of the collegate Church of St. Matthew, founded in 1446 by Sir William St. Clair, Baron of Roslin and Earl of Orkney, for a provost, six prebendaries and two choristers. "His age creeping on him," says Father Hay, a member of the same family, "to the end that he might not seem altogether unthankful to God for the benefices he received from Him, it came in his mind to build a house for God's service of most curious worke; the which that it might be done with greater glory and splendor, he caused artificers to be brought from other regions and forraigne kingdomes, and caused dayly to be abundance of all kinde of workemen present: as masons, carpenters, smiths, barrowmen and quarriers, with others."[4]

It seems probable that the founder was his own architect. His generous pay brought the best of skilled workmen to his help from all parts of Scotland and from other countries as well. The result is evident in the highly ornate Gothic building still to be seen. The small church, measuring but 69 feet in length, consists of choir and aisles, with Lady chapel to the east. All is so thickly encrusted with carved ornament that the effect is rich in the extreme, though not considered by competent authorities on architecture as of pure Gothic style. The details, nevertheless, are beautifully finished and give evidence of the skill of the workmen employed. Figures of angels, saints, scenes from Bible history, dragons, flowers, foliage exist in the greatest profusion on almost every stone of the building.

Beneath the church are the burial vaults of the St. Clair family. Formerly the Barons were buried in armor without coffin, and ten thus lie there. A mob which wrecked Roslin Castle hard by, in 1688, did much damage to the church, but it was afterwards repaired. The exterior looks unfinished, owing to the cessation of the work before the entire building had been raised. Its adornments are on a less ornate scale than those of the interior.

Queen Mary of Gueldres, widow of James II., founded the collegiate Church of Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, in 1462, for a provost, eight chaplains and two singing boys. Attached to it was a hospital for thirteen poor men. Its full dedication was "to the Holy Trinity, to the ever blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, to St. Ninian the Confessor and to all the saints and elect of God." In the year after the foundation the Queen died and was buried in the church.

The building was a rich and beautiful specimen of Gothic architecture, of the style known as middle pointed. The church had some very fine windows. In 1848 it was pulled down to make room for a railway station. The body of the foundress was removed to the royal vaults in Holyrood.

[4] "Genealogie of the Saint Claires of Rosslyn."

One of the provisions of the foundress was that every prebend should go after Mass in his vestments to say a "De Profundis" at her tomb. The poor Queen has been robbed of these suffrages by a so-called Reformation of religion, in common with so many other devout founders of churches, chapels and monasteries.

St. Giles', Edinburgh, was the chief collegiate establishment in that city. The church was the pride of the municipality, and extensive grants were made by the magistrates from time to time towards its building fund. It had been almost entirely destroyed in the fire of 1385, when the English under Richard II. burned the city. Building operations were continually going on for the next eighty years and at intervals until the very eve of the Reformation. The result was a noble and spacious church worthy to be the great parish church of the capital of Scotland, measuring some 194 feet in length, with nave, choir, aisles and transepts, together with lateral chapels added at various dates.

In 1466 the magistrates made the church collegiate, providing for the sustenance of a provost, curate, sixteen prebendaries, a master of the choir, a sacristan, four choristers and a number of chaplains to celebrate at the thirty-six altars of the church. St. Giles' was the centre of Catholic life in the city. The many trade guilds had each its appointed altar and chaplain, supported by the particular guild which claimed it, and Mass was said for each at stated times. It was the largest and most important of all the collegiate churches of Scotland, with the exception of the Chapel Royal, Sterling.

At the Reformation this splendid church was partitioned off for various incongruous uses. Four portions were used as churches, known respectively as the High Church, Tolbooth Church, Old Church and Little Kirk. A police office and even a prison occupied other parts. Much money was spent in unsatisfactory restorations in 1829, but at length, in 1871, was commenced the thorough renovation of the ancient fabric, carried out in excellent taste, chiefly at the expense of a private citizen, and completed in 1883.

The Church of the Holy Cross and St. Mary, at Seton, in the county of Haddington, was made collegiate by George, second Lord Seton, in 1493, for a provost, six prebendaries, a clerk and two singing boys. From time to time additions were made to the building by members of the Seton family, but the church was left incomplete at the Reformation. The founder died in 1507 and was buried near the high altar. Sir Richard Maitland, who was connected with the family, has left in a MS. history a minute account of this church, from which a few quotations in modern spelling may be here given, as it is rare to find such detailed particulars concerning events of the kind. "Catherine Sinclair, the wife of Sir William

Seton, who died at the beginning of the reign of Robert III., built an aisle on the south side of the church . . . with a sepulchre therein, where she lies; and founded a priest to serve there perpetually. This lady, in her widowhood, dwelt where are now the priests' chambers in Seton, and planted and made all their yard, that they have yet, at this day." Janet, daughter of Patrick, first Earl of Bothwell, and widow of the founder's son, "built the north aisle of the church . . . and thereby made a perfect cross-kirk (*i. e.*, cruciform), and built the steeple to a great height." The same lady was generous in her gifts of vestments and ornaments of the altar. The historian enumerates, "a complete stand of purple velvet vestments, flowered with gold; another of white Camoise velvet, flowered with gold; . . . a case of silver, a eucharist of silver, a chalice over-gilt, a pendicle for the high altar, etc."[5]

In 1544 English invaders burned the castle of Seton and spoiled the church, taking away to their ships in the Firth of Forth the bells, organ, ornaments and all movables, after setting fire to the woodwork of the building.[6]

The collegiate Church of St. Mary, at Castle Sempil, Renfrewshire, was founded near his castle in the parish of Lochwinnoch, by John, first Lord Sempil, in 1504. The founder provided for the support of a provost, six prebendaries and two boys to assist in the singing. The foundation charter gives interesting particulars of the arrangements of the offices. The prebendary who held the post of organist was required to teach a singing school, giving daily lessons to boys in Gregorian chant and "prick-song." He had to maintain the two singing boys for the service of the church. The sacrist had charge of the church, with the ornaments and vestments. It was his duty to regulate the clock and duly to ring the bells at Matins, Vespers, Compline, as well as at curfew and prayers, doubling according to custom on festivals. He had also to collect offerings from the people, passing through the church for the purpose, and to clean the church and adorn it with herbs and flowers. The choir dress of the prebends and boys was a linen surplice with hood of red English cloth lined with black lambswool. The provost carried an almuce (fur tippet) on his arm on feast days. Masses were at 6 o'clock in summer and 7 in winter, and at 8, 9 and 10, the latter being High Mass.[7]

At the Reformation the property was taken possession of by the founder's family and the church continued to be the burial place of the Sempils.

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[5] Chalmers' "Caledonia," II., p. 525.
[6] *Ibid*, p. 513.
[7] "Registrum Episc. Glasg." (Bannatyne Club), p. 510.

The Church of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary and St. Margaret, at Restalrig, was founded as a collegiate establishment in 1487 by James III. It received further endowments from James IV. and James V. Provision was made for a dean, nine prebendaries, three chaplains and two singing boys. The first prebendary was organist and conducted a singing school. The second was sacrist, whose duty was to take charge of the valuables, books, chalices and vessels. He had to defray the expenses of the washing of the church linen out of his revenues and to keep two boys to sing, light candles and ring bells.

This church was one of the first sacred edifices destroyed by the Puritan faction at the Reformation. In 1560 the General Assembly ordained that "the Kirk of Restalrig, as a monument of idolatry be rased, utterly cast down and destroyed." The reason of this strong antipathy seems to have been that the dean, Sinclair, was one of the prominent opponents of the doctrines of the Reformation. The vaults of the ruined church were taken possession of by the family of Balmerino to serve as a burying place. A scheme is now on foot for restoring the ancient chapter house, close by the former church. At present it is filled up with earth within two feet of the top of the beautifully carved central pillar. The restoration of this relic of antiquity is regarded as the first step in the rebuilding of the little church itself—a place associated with many historical memories.

The collegiate Church of Crail, in Fifeshire, was founded in 1517 by the prioress of the Cistercian nuns of Haddington, to whom the church had up to that time belonged, with the assistance of Sir William Myrtoun. Provision was made for a provost, ten prebendaries, a sacrist and singing boys.

An interesting inventory of the contents of the sacristy is extant. It gives details which will help the reader to form a picture of the furnishing of such churches. It will not be out of place to quote from it:

"One great chalice of silver, double-gilt, 24½ ounces in weight; one great Eucharist for the sacrament, double-gilt, 46½ ounces; one little Eucharist, not gilt, 8 ounces; two silver censors, 25 ounces each; two silver chandeliers, 28½ ounces each; two silver cruets, 9 ounces each. All these were the gift of Sir Thomas Myrtoun, one of the provosts, at one time archdeacon of Aberdeen. One cross, silver, double-gilt, 13 ounces; one little chalice, single-gilt, 12 ounces, given by the prioress of Haddington; a stand of vestments of green velvet, consisting of cope, chasuble, two tunicles, with albs, stoles and fanons (maniples), with orphreys with imagery of fine gold; two copes for cantors of green satin, with orphreys of red; pendicle

and frontal to the altar of green velvet, the gift of Sir Thomas Myrtoun; a stand of white damask, with cloth of gold orphreys; two copes of 'blew chamblet and one of brown,' the gift of the prioress of Haddington."

Among other vestments we find a set of "downe silk," probably dun or ashen color, used in the Sarum rite. A great veil of "bartane" (British) cloth to hang before the high altar "in Lentron," another custom belonging to the same rite, and veils of red serge "for the images in Lentron."

Mention is made of the altars of the Holy Rood, Our Lady, St. Michael, St. John Baptist, St. James, St. John the Evangelist, St. Stephen, St. Nicholas and St. Katharine.[8]

Although John Knox preached an inflammatory sermon in this church against "idolatry" in 1559, and his "rascal multitude" proceeded to pillage and destroy, according to the preacher's injunction, the work of demolition must have been confined to statues, windows, vestments and movables, for the fabric was left standing up to 1828, when it underwent some kind of restoration. It is still used for Presbyterian worship and is a Gothic edifice with nave and aisles 80 feet long and chancel reduced from 55 to 22 feet. The western tower is surmounted by a low spire.

The collegiate Church of SS. Mary and Anne, Glasgow, was founded in 1528, or thereabouts, by James Houston, sub-dean of the Cathedral and rector of Glasgow. It stood in St. Thenew's Gate, on the spot now occupied by the "Tron Church." Provision was made by the founder for the support of a provost, eight prebendaries and three boys, "skilled in singing and learned in letters, science and of good character."[9] Later on other benefices were added to bring the number of clergy to twelve. After the death of the founder the presentation to a stall in this church belonged to the magistrates of the city. On the western side of the building was a "song school," in which one of the clergy taught the church song. There was a cemetery in connection with the church. This establishment was next in importance to the Cathedral. It bore several names; it was known as the "New Church," "New College," "Laigh (Low) Kirk," to distinguish it from the Cathedral, or "High Kirk," which stood on the high ground to the north of the city. But in Catholic times it was usually called St. Mary's, though after the Reformation, when, as a Protestant writer remarks, "the name of the Blessed Virgin was less respected in Glasgow than in former times," its ordinary title was the Laigh Kirk.

The citizens of Glasgow provided for the sustenance of chaplains

[8] "Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica" (Edinburgh, 1842).
[9] "Liber Colleg. Nostr. Dominæ" (Maitland Club), p. 6.

to celebrate Mass at the altars of Our Lady, St. Michael and St. Mungo, and there were several other altars in the church.

In 1560 a reforming mob destroyed all the images, altars and ornaments of this spacious and beautiful church, which for a long time after stood disused and neglected. All its revenues, which were considerable, were appropriated by the magistrates. In 1592 the church was repaired, and thenceforward was used for Presbyterian worship. In 1637 the magistrates built a square tower, surmounted by a spire containing two bells. It was from the "tron," or public weighing machine, kept under this tower that the church came to be known as "Tron Church," and the street in which it stood as Trongate. The word "gate," it may be remarked, had no connection with city gates; these were known under the designation of "port," from the Latin *porta*. "Gate" or "gait" in Scots meant a way or street. The fine old collegiate church was unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1793 and the present Tron Church erected on its site.

The parish Church of St. Mary, at Cullen, in Banffshire, was made collegiate in 1543 by Alexander Ogilvie, of Deskford, who provided for the support of a provost, six prebendaries and two choristers. The small cruciform building is now used for Presbyterian worship. It was enlarged for greater accommodation in 1798. The body of the founder lies in a richly decorated tomb in a recess on the north side of the chancel; his recumbent effigy surmounts the tomb. On the same side of the chancel, nearer the altar, is a finely preserved specimen of one of the stone aumbries, found chiefly in the northern parts of Scotland and known as "Sacrament Houses." They were really stone tabernacles in the north wall of a church, in which the Blessed Sacrament was reserved before the custom of a fixed tabernacle at the back of the altar became general. That at Cullen, of sixteenth century work, is embellished with the figures of angels bearing a monstrance containing a Host. The former residences of the collegiate body attached to this church are now merged in the buildings of Cullen House, one of the residences of the Earls of Seafield, near which the ancient church stands. The house is a most interesting specimen of ancient architecture; it has been erected at various periods and has been skillfully restored within the last half century.

The last of all the collegiate foundations of Scotland was the Church of St. Mary, at Biggar, in Lanarkshire. It was founded by Malcolm, third Lord Fleming, Chamberlain of Scotland, in 1545, for a provost, eight prebendaries, four singing boys and six poor men. Cardinal Beaton, as Papal Legate, confirmed the charter of foundation. Lord Fleming, with many of his kinsmen and followers, fell on the field of Pinkie in 1547.

A charter of the Abbot of Holyrood, granting certain privileges to this collegiate church, a few years later, thus alludes to it: "In consideration of the singular zeal and pious affection towards God and the Catholic Church, which were shown, in these unhappy days of Lutheranism, by a sometime noble and mighty lord, Malcolm, Lord Fleming, who at his own charge built a stately church in the village of Biggar, dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption, and commonly called the College of St. Mary of Biggar, etc." The allusion to Lutheranism must not be taken to refer to Scotland so much as to the countries where it was then rife. The heresy had, it is true, made its appearance in Scotland, and Hamilton and some of its other upholders had paid with their lives for attempting to promulgate it; yet the bulk of the nation was free from infection, and no one dreamed that in less than fifteen years after the foundation of Biggar Protestantism would have been set up as the religion of Scotland, to the exclusion of the ancient faith.

The church was in reality never completed. It was built on a cruciform ground plan, and was to have been embellished with a spire, had not the Reformation prevented further progress. St. Mary's has served as the Presbyterian parish church of the place up to the present day. Though recent restoration has done much to improve its condition, it was wantonly despoiled of many of its prominent beauties in an age when they were not only not appreciated, but condemned as savoring of Popery. Among such decorations the oaken roof of the chancel, richly gilt, fell a prey to the vandalism of a past century. A western porch, a lych gate and a sacristy have also disappeared.

Such were some of the collegiate churches which were so important a feature of Catholic life in Scotland in the ages immediately preceding the downfall of the Catholic religion. Something might have been said here about many which have been passed over with a mere brief mention of their existence, but from the particulars given about those treated on, the reader will gather sufficient for the general understanding of the subject, which is rendered all the more interesting from its relation with a state of things no longer existing.

Michael Barrett, O. S. B.

Fort Augustus, Scotland.

PIUS VII. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

I.

TOWARDS the end of the year 1797, when it was evident that the French Directory was determined to overthrow the Papal Government, Pius VI. recognized that the rules which had been drawn up by his predecessors to regulate the election of a Sovereign Pontiff could no longer suffice to guarantee the safety of the Conclave in presence of the dangers which menaced the Church. He therefore decreed by the bull *Christi Ecclesia,* published on December 30 of that year, that the Cardinals present in Rome at the time of his death should immediately decide by the vote of the majority in what place the Conclave should be held, and advance or retard its date, in the case of the occurrence of a war or of any popular tumult, instead of waiting till the tenth day, according to the usual custom. Rome was shortly afterwards occupied by the troops of General Berthier; the republic was proclaimed; the Holy Father was exiled to Sienna and all the members of the Sacred College expelled from Rome. In order, therefore, to assure the safety and freedom of the Conclave under these new and unforeseen conditions, it was advisable to make further changes in the ordinary regulations, and by the bull *Quum nos Superiori Anno* (13th November, 1798) Pius VI. decreed that in case he were to die while absent from Rome, his successor should be chosen by whatever Cardinals should be residing in the greatest number in the States of a Catholic sovereign.[1] When the Holy Father died, on August 29, 1799, at Valence, in the south of France, most of the Cardinals had already taken refuge in the Venetian provinces which had been recently ceded to Austria by the treaty of Campoformio. It was therefore at Venice that Cardinal Albani, the Dean of the Sacred College, decided that the Conclave should be held; and, as it could meet there in safety, it was not necessary to depart from the usages observed in Rome and adopt the modifications prescribed by the bull of Pius VI. The *Novendiali,* or solemn services which are celebrated during nine days for the soul of a Sovereign Pontiff, began on the 23d of October in the Church of San Pietro di Castello, and on December 1, the first Sunday of

[1] Charles van Duerm, S. J. Un peu plus de lumière sur le Conclave de Venise et sur les commencements du Pontificat de Pie VII. (1799-1800). Documents inédits extraits des Archives de Vienne. Paris, 1896, p. 11.

[2] Correspondance diplomatique et Mémoires inédits du Cardinal Maury (1792-1817). Annotés et publiés par Mgr. Ricard, Prélat de la Maison de Sa Sainteté: Professeur honoraire des Facultés d'Aix et de Marseille. Lille, 1891. Vol. I., p. 258.

Advent,[2] thirty-four of the forty-six Cardinals then living took part in the ceremonies which opened the Conclave in the Benedictine Monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, situated on the island of that name.[3] A few days later they were joined by Cardinal Herzan, who had been the representative of Austria at the Vatican during the reign of Pius VI., and who was now entrusted with the mission of soliciting the suffrages of the Sacred College in favor of a candidate on whose complacency, when elected Pope, the imperial court thought it might reckon for the furtherance of its ambitious designs. The Emperor Francis II. had shown himself to be well disposed towards the Church and had continued to carry out the policy of his father, Leopold II., who had revoked many of the arbitrary decrees of Joseph II. referring to questions of ecclesiastical discipline, and had reopened many of the religious houses which had been suppressed. But the principle of the supremacy of the State over the Church, so strongly enforced under the reign of the last mentioned Emperor, still influenced to a certain degree the policy of his successors, whose Ministers, brought up at the school of Prince von Kaunitz, were, like him, imbued with the irreligious doctrines of the French philosophers, and they neglected no opportunity of seeking to render the Church subservient to their aims.

In accordance with these ideas, Baron von Thugut, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, tried to assert the privilege claimed by Austria of opposing the election to the Papacy of any Cardinal who from his nationality or his opinions might be suspected of being hostile to the House of Hapsburg.[4] Instructions were therefore given to Cardinal Herzan before he left Vienna to hinder the election of any Cardinal coming from France, Spain, Sardinia, Naples and Genoa, or who should have shown himself to be a partisan of those States. On the other hand, he was to favor by every means in his power the choice of Cardinal Alessandro Mattei, Archbishop of Ferrara, whom

[3] Mémoires du Cardinal Consalvi, Secrétaire d'État du Pape Pie VII., avec une introduction et des notes par J. Crétineau-Joly. Paris, 1864. Vol. I., p. 202; II., p. 95. Before the opening of the Conclave the Cardinals had elected as their secretary Mgr. Ercole Consalvi, who had held many important positions in Rome, among others those of auditor of the Rota and of assessor to the Secretary of State. Mgr. Pietro Negroni, secretary to the consistory, was entitled to the post, but the Cardinals were dissatisfied with his conduct in Rome during the revolution, and preferred to replace him. It is not true, as was asserted by Artand de Montor in his "Life of Pius VII.," that Mgr. Consalvi went to Rome to dissuade Mgr. Negroni from coming to Venice and to obtain from him letters of recommendation. This accusation has been refuted by Mgr. Baldassari in the "Relazione delle Avversitàe Vatimenti di Pio VI., and Consalvi in his Memoirs declares that he took no steps to secure the place.

[4] Van Duerm, p. 28. The Bourbons of France and Spain claimed the same privilege, but do not seem to have exercised it, at least openly, at the Conclave in Venice.

the Minister declared that he considered to be the most capable of governing the Church in the midst of the dangers which threatened it. If, however, it should be impossible to secure his election, Cardinal Valenti, Bishop of Albano, might be substituted for him. This recommendation of Cardinal Mattei was accompanied by protestations that the motives which guided the Emperor were solely the good of the Catholic Church, the restoration of the Papacy to its ancient splendor and the pacification of Italy; but Cardinal Consalvi in his Memoirs has unmasked von Thugut's insidious policy and revealed the object which he had in view. By the defeat of the French troops under General Macdonald on the banks of the Trebbia in June, 1799, Austria had gained possession not only of Lombardy, but of all the Papal States as far as Rome, the remainder, up to Terracina, being occupied by the Neapolitan army. By the treaty of Tolentino (20th February, 1799) the Holy See had been obliged to yield to the French Republic the legations of Bologna, Ferrara and Ravenna, and Bonaparte had united them to the Cisalpine Republic, which had come to an end with the retreat of the French. Under the pretext, therefore, that by this treaty the Pope had renounced all claim to the legations and that they now belonged to Austria by the right of conquest, the imperial government was resolved to keep them. The Court of Vienna was anxious that this demand should be formally ratified by the Sovereign Pontiff, and as Cardinal Mattei was one of the negotiators who had signed the treaty of Tolentino, it hoped that if he were elected Pope he might be more willing than any other to make such a concession.[5] These pretensions were not, indeed, expressed in the written instructions given by Thugut to Cardinal Herzan, in which the Emperor is highly praised for his devotion to the interests of the Church; it was not put forward openly until much later, and when, during the Conclave, Herzan advocated the candidature of Cardinal Mattei, he always maintained that the Emperor's preference was justified by the fact that the Cardinal belonged to an illustrious Roman family; that he had given proofs of his piety and of his pastoral zeal in the government of his diocese, and had shown great prudence in the management of various difficult questions. If, however, any Cardinal alluded to the restitution of the legations, Herzan frankly expressed his belief in the validity of the Emperor's claim to those provinces, since they had been won from the Cisalpine Republic.[6]

The Sovereign Pontiff must be chosen by the votes of at least two-thirds of the electors. At the Conclave of Venice the number required was twenty-four, and Cardinal Herzan was much alarmed

[5] Mémoires du Cardinal Consalvi, Vol. I., p. 222.

[6] Van Duerm, p. 84. Letter from Herzan to Thugut, January 8, 1800.

when, after a few days, during which no very marked result had been obtained, he found that eighteen votes were given to Cardinal Bellisomi, Bishop of Cesena, and only one to Cardinal Mattei.[7] It seemed probable that at the next *scrutinio* Bellisomi's election would be secured by the adhesion of some of the Cardinals who were still undecided; and, as Herzan was anxious to execute Thugut's orders, he sought to obtain a delay which might enable Cardinal Mattei to acquire a sufficient number of votes. He therefore requested Cardinal Albani, the Dean of the Sacred College, to allow Cardinal Bellisomi's election, which seemed already certain, to be deferred for a short period, while he wrote to Vienna to make sure that the choice of this unexpected candidate would not displease the Emperor, whom it was so important to conciliate, since he had expelled the French revolutionists from Italy, was in possession of nearly all the territory of the Holy See, and the Conclave was being held in his States. It would, he said, be an act of courtesy towards His Majesty, which might be some compensation for the rejection of the candidate whom he had recommended. Cardinal Albani yielded to these arguments after some resistance and persuaded the other Cardinals to grant the delay; but he thereby enabled a party to be formed which was favorable to Cardinal Mattei and which, though small, sufficed to hinder any one else from obtaining the requisite number of votes.[8] These dissentients from the majority of the Sacred College were guided by what seemed to them satisfactory reasons for their preference of the Archbishop of Ferrara. They knew how much he was beloved and revered by his diocesans for his charity and his piety; they admired the intrepidity he had displayed when Bonaparte threatened to have him shot for having recalled the Papal troops to Ferrara after its evacuation by the French, and they believed that the Roman people would gladly welcome a Sovereign Pontiff who belonged to an ancient Roman family. They were also convinced that he would never consent to yield the legations, and that it would be advantageous to the Church to raise to the Papacy a Cardinal to whom the Emperor was friendly.

The *scrutinio* continued, therefore, to take place twice daily, with slight variations in the number of votes given to the two principal candidates, but never sufficient to give the necessary majority to either. After a long delay, during which an answer to Cardinal Herzan's request was anxiously expected, he was at last informed by Thugut that the Emperor still hoped for the election of Cardinal

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[7] Van Duerm, p. 48. Letter from Herzan to Thugut, December 18, 1799. Maury, Mémoires, I., p. 278. Letter to Louis XVIII., December 21, 1799.

[8] Consalvi, Mémoires, I., pp. 223, 229.

[9] Van Duerm, pp. 92, 97. Thugut to Herzan, January 7, 1800.

Mattei.[9] The Minister again protested that the only motives which guided His Majesty were his solicitude for the welfare of religion and his desire for the pacification of Italy; but he added that the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction which he might feel with the result of the election would exercise considerable influence on various measures about to be undertaken by the imperial court, and even upon the future condition of the Cardinals themselves. If His Majesty's good intentions were not appreciated, he would not be able to avoid taking other steps adapted to the plans, which, under the circumstances, he should consider to be advantageous to the situation of affairs in general and to the good of his States. The Emperor, so Thugut asserted, was the only sovereign on whose devotion and on whose action depended not only the position of the future Pope, but also the preservation of the dignity of the hierarchy in Italy as well as in Germany, where it was in his power to prevent the secularization of ecclesiastical lands and other changes which were then demanded. Moreover, the projects and the tendencies of other sovereigns were of such nature that the Holy See ran great danger of undergoing still more serious losses. If, however, Herzan found it impossible to cause Cardinal Mattei to be chosen, he might declare for Bellisomi, and in that case he should take care to persuade him that he owed his election to the Emperor.

The menacing tone of this letter failed to produce upon the Conclave the effect which its writer had expected; for Cardinal Herzan, though a devoted servant of the Emperor, could not forget that he was also a Prince of the Church. He considered that he had done enough for the court by having retarded the election of a Pope,[10] and he therefore refrained from communicating Thugut's insolent despatch to the Sacred College. He merely read to Cardinal Albani and Cardinal Braschi a short epitome of it, from which the more threatening expressions were omitted, but which stated that the Emperor earnestly desired the election of Cardinal Mattei, and that, being master of the future destiny of Italy, he could not treat so favorably any other Cardinal who should be chosen in his stead.[11]

p. 307, letter of January 25, 1800.

The only reply to this attempt at interference with the liberty of the Conclave was that the Cardinals who voted for Bellisomi requested the Papal Nuncio at Vienna to inform the Emperor that they would still continue to vote according to the dictates of their conscience, and that even after his recommendation their conscience would not allow them to vote for Cardinal Mattei.

This state of uncertainty lasted for a considerable time. The two

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[10] Consalvi, Mémoires, I., p. 230.

[11] Maury, Mémoires, I., p. 304. Letter to Louis XVIII., January 18; and,

Cardinals between whom the votes had been divided begged to be set aside, and various other candidates were proposed, none of whom obtained the requisite majority. At last a Cardinal whom Consalvi does not name, but describes as "one of those of Mattei's party who was gifted with a rare clearness of intellect and an excellent heart," suggested a method of terminating this deadlock.[12] It was that one of the parties should choose the Pope from among its opponents, and as Cardinal Bellisomi's party was the more numerous, it was there that the choice ought to be made by the adherents of Cardinal Mattei. Leaving aside the members of the party who had already unsuccessfully proposed as candidates, or who did not seem likely to secure a sufficient number of votes, he fixed on Cardinal Chiaramonti, Bishop of Imola, against whom it could only be objected that he was rather young to be elected Pope (being only fifty-eight) and that he was believed to be related to the Braschi family, which had been in power during the long reign of Pius VI. On the other hand, the gentleness of his disposition, the strictness of his life, the prudence he had always displayed in the government of the Sees of Tivoli and of Imola and his profound knowledge of theology were claims sufficient to outweigh these objections. The suggestion met the approbation of the adherents of Cardinal Mattei; the offer of their votes for Cardinal Chiaramonti was immediately accepted by those who had hitherto supported Bellisomi,[13] and the Sacred College went in a body that evening to compliment the future Pope.

On the following morning, March 14, 1800, Cardinal Chiaramonti was unanimously elected, and he took the name of Pius VII., in memory of his predecessor, by whom he had been created Cardinal in 1785. It was hoped that the coronation of the Sovereign Pontiff would have taken place in the Basilica of St. Mark, and a large sum of money had been subscribed by the citizens of Venice to cover the expenses of the ceremony; but, to the general surprise and indignation, the representatives of the Austrian Government in Venice

[12] Consalvi, Mémoires, I., p. 246. Artand de Montor, in his "Life of Pius VII." (published in 1824), ascribes the election of Cardinal Chiaramonti to the influence of Mgr. Consalvi, secretary to the Conclave, whom he represents as guiding the Cardinals and teaching them their duty, which would have been an act of indiscretion on his part, to which the Cardinals would not have submitted. Crétineau-Joly, the translator of Consalvi's Mémoires, takes it for granted that Cardinal Mauri is alluded to, an error which has been repeated by other writers. But Boulay de la Meurtne, in the "Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique," 1894, p. 427, maintains that it was not Cardinal Maury, who did not belong to Mattei's party, but Cardinal Dugnani, though he does not give his authority. In Cardinal Herzan's letter, however (published in 1896, p. 232, letter of March 11), Cardinal Dugnani, though not formally mentioned as the author of the compromise, is represented as advising the election of Cardinal Chiaramonti and taking an active part in the final negotiations.

[13] Maury, Mémoires, I., p. 373.

declared that though on the opening of the Conclave they had applied to Vienna for instructions as to what they should do after the election of the Pope, they had received no answer and could not, therefore, assist at the coronation.[14] Cardinal Herzan, to whom the Holy Father expressed his surprise at this want of courtesy on the part of Thugut, also stated that he had no orders and refused to take upon himself any responsibility. Pius VII. decided, therefore, that the ceremony should be performed in the church of the monastery where the Conclave had been held. It took place on the 21st of March, the feast of St. Benedict, after a High Mass, at which the Holy Father officiated, and he then gave his blessing to the immense crowds which covered not only the space in front of the church, but also the opposite shore, and that night the entire city was brilliantly illuminated. The fact that the coronation of the Sovereign Pontiff is the declaration of his temporal power was regarded by public opinion as the motive which had caused the Austrian Government to refuse to permit the ceremony, and Cardinal Consalvi asserts that Austria was not only determined not to restore the legations, but even seemed inclined to retain possession of the rest of the Papal States.

Thugut had failed to secure the election of a Pope who should be devoted to the interests of Austria, but, as he was resolved to spare no efforts to bring the Holy Father under his influence, Cardinal Herzan, in accordance with his instructions, sought to persuade Pius VII. to choose as his Secretary of State Cardinal Flangini, a Venetian, and therefore an Austrian subject on whom the imperial court might reckon. But the Pope, who had many reasons for not wishing to accept him as his Minister, and yet who did not wish to displease the Emperor, from whom he still hoped to obtain the restitution of his lost provinces, replied that he would employ as pro-Secretary of State the prelate who had acted as secretary to the Conclave, and that on his return to Rome he would come to a final decision on the question.[15] Mgr. Consalvi, who had left the monastery on the termination of the Conclave, was therefore recalled, and thus entered on the brilliant administrative and diplomatic career, in the course of which he rendered such important services to the Holy See.

Thugut was not discouraged by this second repulse, but tried to persuade the Holy Father to come to Vienna, representing to him the advantages which the Church would derive from an interview between him and the Emperor, whose zeal for the interests of religion

[14] Consalvi, Mémoires, I., 271. Maury, Mémoires, I., p. 379.

[15] Consalvi, Mémoires, I., 276; II., 102. Van Duerm, p. 262, Herzan to Thugut, March 15.

be warmly praised.[16] Thugut accompanied this invitation with an offer of 30,000 ducats to cover the expenses of the journey, but he warned the Pope at the same time that the Emperor would not enter into any discussion with regard to the legations, as they belonged to Austria by right of conquest. To this invitation, presented by Cardinal Herzan with all the resources of his eloquence, Pius VII. replied by a decided refusal, for he saw that Thugut's object was to induce him to confirm the cession of the provinces which had been taken from his predecessor,[17] and he pointed out to the Cardinal that it was his duty both as temporal sovereign and as the Supreme Pastor of the Church to return to Rome without delay. But Thugut, who invariably repeated in his letters to Cardinal Herzan that the Emperor was firmly resolved not to restore the legations, since he looked upon them as a compensation for the losses which he had sustained, showed also his desire to keep the Holy Father under the absolute control of Austria. Under the pretext that the Court of Naples and that of Spain, so closely allied to it, sought to get the Pope into their power in order that he might assist them in carrying out their plans against the Empire, he tried to dissuade Pius VII. from going to Rome until the Neapolitan troops had been withdrawn, threatening him that if he would persist in his resolution the Emperor would abandon him to his fate and make his own interests pass before all others.[18]

Another of Thugut's emissaries then appeared upon the scene to take the place of Cardinal Herzan.[19] This was the Marchese Ghislieri, a Bolognese nobleman, who was employed in the Imperial Chancery in Vienna. The object of his mission was to offer to restore the part of the Papal States then in the occupation of the Austrian troops and extending from the legations up to the neighborhood of Rome, on condition that Pius VII. should renounce all claims to the legations. This demand was rejected. Ghislieri then attempted to negotiate, and said that the imperial court would be willing to restore a portion of the legation of Romagna if it were allowed to keep the remainder and the two others—a proposal which did not meet with better success, though accompanied by the threat

[16] Van Duerm, p. 296, Thugut to Herzan, March 26, 1800.

[17] Consalvi, Mémoires, I., p. 277; II., p. 226.

[18] Van Duerm, pp. 466-475, letter from Thugut to Herzan, May 17, 1800.

[19] About this time Cardinal Herzan's diplomatic career came to an end. The Emperor of Austria had nominated him to the See of Stein-am-anger, in Hungary, and Pius VII. consecrated him on May 18. Shortly after he retired to his diocese. And though, when acting as envoy in Rome, he had shown too much subserviency to the imperial policy, during the remainder of his life he distinguished himself by his benevolence and charity towards the poor and the zeal with which he performed his duty as a Bishop. He died in Vienna on June 1, 1804.

that if the Holy Father refused to come to terms no restitution whatever should be made. In reply to this insolent language Pius VII. forwarded to the imperial government an official request for the restoration of the legations, and at the same time autograph letters to the Emperor and to his Minister, in which he demonstrated the right of the Holy See to the territory which had been conquered by the army of the French Republic. These letters were never answered —a flagrant breach of courtesy which shows to what extent the anti-religious spirit of Joseph II. and of Prince von Kaunitz still guided the administration of Baron von Thugut in its dealings with the Sovereign Pontiff.[20] Ghislieri, too, showed that he had been formed at the same school. One day at the close of an audience the Holy Father said to him that he did not know what more he could say to induce the Emperor to restore the legations, since he had already employed in vain the most persuasive arguments, but that the Emperor ought to take care not to place in his wardrobe clothes which did not belong to him, but to the Church. Not only he would not enjoy them, but they might introduce moths among his own clothes—that is to say, his hereditary possessions. Ghislieri was indignant, but he repressed his anger in presence of the Pope, and hastened to complain to Consalvi, to whom he said that the new Pope was inexperienced; that he knew very little about the power of Austria, and that something very great, indeed, would be requisite to injure its hereditary possessions.[21]

When Thugut found that Pius VII. was resolved to return to Rome, and that his departure could no longer be put off, he again displayed his narrow-minded and jealous policy. The direct way to Rome from Venice was through the legations, but there the people would have greeted the Holy Father as their sovereign with demonstrations of loyalty which the Austrians would have found it difficult to repress. An alternative route lay through Modena, Parma and Florence, but in those cities the Pope would have come in contact with members of the courts of Spain and Sardinia, whose interests in Italy were hostile to those of Austria and whose influence and intrigues were dreaded by Thugut.[22] Ghislieri, therefore, acting by Thugut's instructions, persuaded the Holy Father to travel by sea as far as Pesaro, a port situated in the Marches, a province out-

[20] Consalvi, Mémoires, I., p. 282. The Cardinal observes that the proceedings of the Court of Vienna, with regard to the cession of the legations, during the Conclave and after, may be ascribed to Baron von Thugut, who contrived to intercept every means of communication with the Emperor and to deceive his well-known spirit of religion and justice.

[21] Consalvi, Mémoires, I., p. 283; II., p. 228.

[22] Van Duerm, p. 435, Ghislieri to Thugut, May 17, 1800; p. 437, Ghislieri to Thugut, May 21; p. 475, Thugut to Ghislieri, May 17. Consalvi, I., p. 285; II., p. 230.

side the legations and still occupied by the Austrian troops, but which was to be restored to the Church. Pius VII. would have much wished to visit Cesena, his native city, and Imola, of which he had been Bishop, but rather than take any step which might displease the Emperor, he yielded to Ghislieri's demands.

Owing to the pillage which had taken place in the dockyards of Venice after the occupation of the city by the French Republicans in 1798, when everything of any value was brought away to Toulon, there remained of the once powerful Venitian navy a single frigate, the Bellona, which was hardly in a state to hold the sea. It was hastily got ready, provided with an insufficient crew of untrained sailors, and on this unseaworthy vessel Pius VII. embarked on June 6, accompanied by Cardinals Doria, Braschi, Pignatelli, Borgia, Mgr. Consalvi, some other prelates and Ghislieri, who, under pretext of doing the honors of the Emperor's ship, was in reality the Pope's jailer. The journey by sea from Venice to Pesaro might have been performed in about twenty-four hours, but owing to contrary winds and the incapacity of the crew the Bellona was obliged to take refuge in two ports on the coast of Istria and did not reach Pesaro till June 17. Pius VII. continued his journey by land to Ancona, where on June 21 he was received with the same manifestations of joy which had greeted him on his way and among which were also heard at Fano and at Sinigaglia cries of "Death to the Jacobins!"[23] At Ancona Marquis Ghislieri informed the Holy Father of the crushing defeat which the Austrian army had sustained on June 14 at Marengo. By the conditions of the armistice which followed it the imperial generals were obliged to surrender twelve fortresses, to evacuate Piedmont, Liguria and Lombardy and to withdraw their troops to the east of the Mincio and the left bank of the Po, to the south of which they retained only Tuscany and the towns of Ferrara and Ancona. The Emperor thus lost in a single battle not only the legations, which he had declared that nothing should ever induce him to surrender, but also Lombardy, an hereditary possession of his house.

From Ancona Pius VII. continued his journey towards Rome, and at Foligno Marquis Ghislieri made a formal restitution to the Holy See of the provinces still occupied by the Austrian troops from Pesaro up to the neighborhood of Rome. The administration of the rest of the Papal States to Terracina had already been restored by the Neapolitan general, Naselli, to Cardinals Albani, Roverella and della Somaglia, whom the Pope before leaving Venice had sent to Rome as Legates *a latere*, and on July 3, 1800, Pius VII. entered his capital in the midst of the enthusiastic acclamations of the people,

[23] Van Duerm, p. 555, Ghislieri to Thugut, June 22.

which saw in the return of the Papal government the only hope of deliverance from its sufferings.

The first care of the Sovereign Pontiff on taking possession of Rome was to reorganize the administration of the States of the Church and to remedy as much as possible the disorders and the ruin which were the result of the Revolution. The peasantry had been everywhere impoverished by the successive invasions of the French, the Neapolitan and the Austrian armies; their cattle had been carried away, their fields were left untilled.[24] The extortions of the French and Roman republicans, their war taxes and forced loans, the bribes demanded by their generals and officials had emptied the treasuries of Rome and of the provincial cities and reduced all classes to misery. The churches had been robbed of their plate, the Vatican, the Quirinal and the palaces of the nobles had been stripped of their treasures and the choicest masterpieces of statuary and painting, together with the rarest manuscripts in the public libraries, had been brought away to Paris. A congregation composed of Cardinals, prelates and some distinguished laymen was, therefore, named for the purpose of reëstablishing the various branches of the public service on their ancient footing, while correcting the defects and the abuses which had gradually arisen in the course of centuries, besides introducing the reforms which the altered state of affairs had rendered advisable, and, among others, the admission of laymen to many public functions which had until then been exercised solely by ecclesiastics. Previously to undertaking this difficult task Pius VII. had confirmed the provisional nomination of Mgr. Consalvi as Secretary of State, and in order to endow him with greater authority for the execution of his plans had raised him to the dignity of Cardinal.

The most important of the reforms due to Cardinal Consalvi and carried out in spite of the strenuous opposition of the officials whose privileges and whose gains were abolished was the enfranchisement of the trade in corn. It had been the custom for the Papal government to purchase large quantities of grain at a high price and sell it to the people of Rome at a much lower rate, the loss to the State being met by the emission of bonds. But at the time of the accession of Pius VII. this generosity was no longer possible. The Holy See had been impoverished by the annexation of its richest provinces to the Cisalpine Republic, and it was of the utmost importance to withdraw without delay the paper money and the debased coinage which were then in circulation—an operation which cost the treasury a million and a half of scudi. Some discontent was caused at first by

[24] Mgr. Nicolai, Memorie, Leggi ed Osservazioni sulle Campagne e sull'-Annona di Roma. Roma, 1803, t. III., p. 182.

the momentary increase in the price of corn, but the great development of agriculture which ensued and the consequent abundance and cheapness of provisions amply justified Cardinal Consalvi's innovation.

Along with these measures, which soon created a state of prosperity such as Rome had not known for many years, Pius VII. granted an amnesty to those who had taken part in the revolution against his predecessor and among whom were many members of the Roman nobility. And yet the Holy Father could not feel assured that his rule was firmly established. The indiscipline of the Neapolitan troops which still remained in Rome caused them to be detested by the people, which was divided into Jacobins and anti-Jacobins. The former, who hoped to democratize Rome again, were few in number, but influential by their social position and well organized, and the latter, under the pretext of chastising them, were conspiring to massacre them and plunder their houses. The movements of the French troops in the north of Italy, under the command of Massena, who had occupied Pesaro, seemed to presage another invasion of the Papal States, and Pius VII. felt his situation to be so insecure that he wrote to Lord Keith, whose fleet was then cruising in the Mediterranean, to request him to station a frigate at Cività Vecchia to enable him to fly in case Rome were again attacked.

But Bonaparte, whom the victory of Marengo had rendered master of the destinies of Italy, had no intention of dethroning the Pope and reëstablishing the Roman Republic. He was, on the contrary, determined to restore order and religious peace in France, and even before leaving Italy he opened negotiations for that purpose with the Holy See.

The general had on a previous occasion, during the reign of Pius VI., made a very vaguely worded and perhaps insincere attempt to treat with Rome, when, on August 3, 1797, after a conversation with Count Gorirossi, who represented the Sovereign Pontiff at Milan, then the capital of the Cisalpine Republic, he had given him a note to forward to Cardinal Doria, the Secretary of State.[25] The object of this document was ostensibly to induce the Holy Father to publish a brief commanding the French clergy to submit to the government and do all in their power to consolidate the Constitution, and also to ascertain if he intended to take any steps to reconcile the constitu-

[25] Correspondance de Napoléon I. publiée par ordre de Napoléon III. Paris, 1859, t. III., p. 288, No. 2,068. Quartier général de Milan, 16 Thermidor an V. (3 Août, 1797). It may be observed that when this letter was written Joseph Bonaparte was on his way to Rome as the Ambassador of the Republic, and that he was charged with the preparation of the revolution which overthrew the Papal government. (D'Allonville, Mémoires tirés des papiers d'un Homme d'Était, V., p. 173. Paris, 1831-1837.)

tional clergy with those who had refused to take the oath to the *Constitution Civile*. In order to reassure the Pope, Bonaparte stated that the Directors had just allowed the churches to be reopened, which was false, as that right had been granted two years previously; and if the Council of the Five Hundred had by a recent decision granted a certain degree of toleration to the clergy, it was in spite of the violent opposition of the Directors and of their partisans. Bonaparte must have been aware that the Directors were then plotting the overthrow of the Constitution and the proscription of the Moderates, and that the clergy could not be asked to uphold their fanatical and persecuting government against the legislative body which had granted them toleration.[26] Bonaparte must also have known that it was the refusal of Pius VI. to recognize the constitutional clergy and to revoke his condemnation of their schism which had been the chief cause of the invasion of the Papal States and of the treaty of Tolentino. The real object of this note, which, as the general asserted, was suggested to him chiefly by the desire of being useful to religion, would seem to have been a wish to show that he did not share the anti-religious opinions of the Directory, and that whether their plot against the Moderates failed or succeeded, the Papal government might look on him as a defender and feel grateful to him for having at least made an attempt to restore religion in France.[27]

In a letter to Talleyrand on August 22, enclosing a copy of the Pope's reply to this note, Bonaparte states that if the Directory desires it, the Holy Father would draw up a brief to recommend obedience to the laws and to the republic, but we do not know in what terms this offer was made. It can at most have referred to the publication of the brief which had been projected in the previous year and which the Directory had refused to discuss when they expelled the Papal envoy from France. The general's request proceeded evidently from himself, for in a letter of September 2 to his brother Joseph, accompanied by a copy of the note, he observed that the Minister of Foreign Affairs had not authorized him to make this demand. In strong contrast to these apparently friendly overtures are the instructions to his brother on September 29 to order the Papal government to dismiss from its service the Austrian general, Provera, under pain of a declaration of war. He was also told that if Pius VI. were to die he should do everything in his power

[26] L. Sciout, Le Directoire, Vol. II., p. 556. On 27 Messidor an V. (July 15, 1797) the Council of the Five Hundred repealed the laws of proscription, and on the 28th the Directors changed their Ministers in order to prepare the *"coup d'Etat,"* they meditated since their defeat at the elections of the same year.

[27] Sciout, *ibid*, p. 453.

to prevent the nomination of another Pope and to cause a revolution. If, however, the election of a Pope could not be prevented, he should not allow Cardinal Albani to be chosen, but intimidate the Cardinals by threats of an immediate advance of the French troops upon Rome.[28] If Bonaparte had ever seriously intended to reconcile France with the Papacy, he abandoned the idea on his return to Paris, where the more intolerant members of the Directory had overthrown the moderate section of the executive and of the two legislative councils by the *"Coup d'État"* of the 18th Fructidor an V. (4th September, 1797), and the penal laws against the clergy had been reënacted. It was then his interest to support their anti-religious policy and help them to carry out their plans for the down-fall of the Papal government, to obtain in return their acquiescence in his project for the invasion of Egypt. Only thus can be explained the fact that, though he had so recently written to Pius VI. to express his desire for a reconciliation with the Holy Father, he now drew up the instructions to General Berthier for his march upon Rome, where he was "to employ all his influence to organize the Roman Republic, while avoiding whatever might prove that the French Government had projected the formation of this Republic."[29] During the interval which elapsed between this message and his departure for Egypt (19th May, 1798), Bonaparte does not seem to have made any effort to induce the Directory to show any commiseration for Pius VI., who had been dethroned and carried away into exile by their orders, or to hinder the pillage and devastation of Rome, which were the result of its occupation by Berthier's army and the proclamation of the republic. His complicity in these crimes cannot, therefore, be denied and may throw doubts on the sincerity of his protestations of friendship towards the Holy Father. It does not, indeed, appear that Bonaparte ever made any effort to repress the fanaticism and the cruelty which prevailed throughout France, with the exception of advising the Directory, just before leaving for Egypt, to place patriotic and enlightened officers in command at Toulon, where political hatred was very ardent and where a few days before his arrival a man of eighty had been shot as a returned *émigré*.

[28] Correspondance de Napoléon I., t. III., p. 465, No. 2,266. Quartier général de Passariano, 8 Vendémaire, an VI. (Sept. 29, 1797).

[29] Correspondance, t. III., p. 626, No. 2,404. Instructions au Général Berthier. Paris, 22 Nivôse, an VI. (January 11, 1798). "Vous ferez marcher dans le plus court delai possible et à grandes journées sur Rome. . . . La célérité dans votre marche sur Rome est de la plus grande importance; elle peut seule assurer le succès de l'opération. . . . A Rome, vous emploiarez toute votre influence à organiser la République Romaine, en évitant, cependant, tout ce qui, ostensiblement, pourrait prouver le projet du Gouvernement de former cette République." It is a curious coincidence that in 1860 Napoleon III. gave the same advice to General Cialdini shortly before the invasion of the Papal States: "Faites vite."

When on Bonaparte's return from Egypt he overthrew the government of the Directory on the 18th Brumaire an VIII. (9th November, 1799), the situation of the Catholic Church in France was very slightly better than it had been under the rule of Robespierre. There was, indeed, a strong reaction against Jacobinism after the fall of Robespierre on the 9th Thermidor an II. (27th July, 1794), especially in Paris, and a large number of persons awaiting execution had been released from prison; but the laws against the clergy were still enforced, and in many departments the authorities still continued to search for the priests who had secretly returned from exile and who, under various disguises, wandered through the country, saying Mass and administering the sacraments wherever they could do so with safety. Four of these missionaries were executed in Franche-Comté in 1794 within a few months after the death of Robespierre, and in the first half of 1796 eighteen others were put to death in various parts of France by the revolutionary tribunals or were assassinated by the soldiers sent to arrest them.[30]

In Paris, however, the general desire for religious liberty overcame at last the fanaticism of the dominant faction and obliged the convention to grant a certain amount of toleration to the Church by the law of 3 Ventose an III. (21st February, 1795), which allowed Mass to be said in buildings hired by the Catholics for that purpose.[31] This law was followed on 11 Prairial (30th May) of the same year by another, which allowed the inhabitants of every *commune* in France the provisional use of the churches which had not been sold, and gave to the Parisians one church for each of the twelve *arrondissements* into which the city was divided. Three more churches were shortly after added to this number, and the reports furnished by the police and the Parisian press bear witness to the gladness with which the people hastened to take advantage of this concession.[32] No

[30] Sciout, Histoire de la Constitution Civile du Clergé (1790-1801). Paris, 1881, t. IV., pp. 445-452.

[31] L'Abbé Joseph Grente, Le Culti Catholique a Paris de la Terreur au Concordat. Paris, 1903, p. 7. Sciout, *ibid*, 307. The first article of this law decreed that the exercise of any form of religion should not be disturbed. The following articles enacted that the Republic would pay for no form of worship nor furnish any building for its practice or lodging for its ministers. All out of doors ceremonies were prohibited, as well as the appearance in public of a priest in his vestments. Every assembly of citizens for the practice of any religion was to be under the supervision of the authorities, and no outward sign or inscription was to indicate the place destined to the practice of any form of worship. It was also forbidden to found any dotation or annuity or establish any tax to provide for its expenses.

[32] A. Aulard, Paris pendant la réaction thermidorienne et sous le Directoire. Paris, 1898, t. I., p. 542. *Gazette française* du 19 Ventôse (March 9, 1795), Paris, 18 Ventôse: "C'est aujourd'hui Dimanche; nous avons vu les boutiques fermées dans plusieurs quartiers de Paris: dans quelques églises on a dit la Messe; les dévots et les curieux s'y sont porté en foule. Cet

priest, however, could officiate until he had made a declaration in presence of the municipality that he would submit to the laws of the republic—a form of oath which was disapproved of by some of the French hierarchy then living in exile, but vicars general of Mgr. de Juigné, Archbishop of Paris, allowed it to be taken. To many, indeed, this concession on the part of the convention seemed to be merely a snare, for though the committee of legislation when asked to explain the law gave an assurance that the antecedents of the priests who wished to make the declaration should not be inquired into, those who had been under the obligation of taking the previous oaths and who had not done so, but who had escaped deportation by living in concealment, or those who had returned secretly from exile, now feared to be entrapped and forced to denounce themselves. They would thus become liable to deportation or even to death, for by the law of 12 Floréal an III. (1st May, 1795) the convention had enacted that all priests who returned to France after having been deported should leave the country within a month, under pain of death.

At the time of the reopening of the churches in 1795 very few of the 130,000 ecclesiastics who formed the French clergy at the dawn of the Revolution were still free to reside in France. The exceptions were those who had taken the oath to the *Constitution Civile,* and who were therefore known as *assermentés* and acknowledged by the State, and those who had not taken the oath, but who from various reasons did not come directly under the laws of proscription, though they were liable at any moment to be deported or executed on a vague charge of *incivism,* which meant any manifestation of hostility to the ideals of the Revolution. This small body of loyal and heroic clergy comprised those who in 1790 were not public functionaries (a title applied to Bishops, parish priests and curates), and were therefore not bound to take the oath to the *Constitution Civile,* as decreed on 27th November of that year by the *Assemblée Constituante;* those who had considered it allowable to take the oath to uphold liberty and equality, which was prescribed on 17th August, 1792, by the *Assemblée Législative;* those who were too old and infirm to be deported; those, very few in number, who had been ordained since the beginning of the persecution; those who, having taken the first oath, had secretly retracted, and those who had been members of religious orders.[33]

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empressement du peuple à assister aux cérémonies religieuses prouve qu'il est encore loin de cette philosophie tricolore à laquelle on a voulu le conduire par le nouveau calendrier." P. 567, Messager du Soir du 26 Ventôse (March 16). "Paris, 25 Ventôse. Ceux qui ne savent pas que c'est aujourd'hui Dimanche en sont avertis par les nombreuses queues que l'on remarque à la porte des anciennes églises. Nous apprennons qu'aux environs de Paris les fêtes sont célébrées avec leur antique solemnité."

[33] Sciout, *ibid,* IV., pp. 396, 398. Grente, p. 29.

As a last manifestation of its fanatical animosity to religion, and as though to counteract the effect of the slight concessions it had made to the Catholics, the convention, before giving up its power to the Directory and to the new Constitution, enacted the law of 3 Brumaire an IV. (25th October, 1795), the tenth clause of which commanded the execution within twenty-four hours of the laws of 1792 and 1793 against the priests who were liable to be deported or imprisoned, and condemned to two years in prison the public functionaries who should neglect to obey. In spite, however, of this renewal of the laws of proscription and of the ardor with which the Directory carried out the policy of the convention, it was impossible to enforce their execution. In most parts of France the peasantry helped their clergy to escape from the troops employed to search for them or rescued them when taken and assembled at night to assist at Mass.[34] In many places the authorities did not venture to enforce the laws and allowed the clergy to exercise their ministry without hindrance, but they were often suspended or revoked by the Directory for this want of zeal in the service of the Revolution.

In Paris the Church enjoyed somewhat more liberty than in the provinces, and the government was obliged to tolerate the existence of many priests whom it could not prove to be liable to be deported or imprisoned. A report presented by the police to the Directors on 8 Floréal an IV. (27th April, 1796) shows that they amounted to between three and four hundred, and that they officiated not only in the churches which were recognized by the State, but also in many oratories and private chapels.[35] This number comprised both the priests who had taken the oath to the *Constitution Civile* and those who had not been under the obligation to take it or who had retracted. That the latter were in the majority appears from a denunciation sent to the police in May, 1798, stating that seven of the churches were in the hands of the clergy who were devoted to the republic and eight belonged to priests who were still attached to the ancient form of government,[36] and it was they also who officiated in the oratories.[37]

Some further progress was made on 14 Frimaire an V. (4th December, 1796), when the two councils repealed the tenth clause of the law of 3 Brumaire; but the Directors maintained that as that clause had merely insisted on the execution of the laws of 1792 and 1793, its abrogation did not annul them, and that they should be still enforced. In many places, however, the local authorities refused

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[34] Sciout, *ibid*, IV., pp. 447, 459.
[35] Grente, *ibid*, 43. Sciout, p. 461.
[36] Sciout, p. 620. Grente, p. 87.
[37] Sciout, p. 618.

to accept this interpretation of the decree and released the members of the clergy whom they had imprisoned.

The elections which took place in the early part of the year 1797 gave the Moderate party a strong majority in the two councils which met on 1 Prairial an V. (20th May, 1797), and throughout France the Catholics saw at last some prospect of the abolition of the sanguinary legislation under which they had been living. They began to practice religion more openly, and in many departments, to the dismay of the local agents of the Directory, the church bells were rung, Masses were said, processions were made and the crowds which attended these celebrations were so large that it was not considered prudent to attempt to disperse them. In spite of much opposition, the councils persevered in their work of emancipation. On 27 Messidor an V. (13th July, 1797) the Council of the Five Hundred repealed the laws which condemned priests to deportation or prison. Their action was confirmed on 7 Fructidor (24th August) by the Council of the Ancients, and it was enacted that the only oaths which should be demanded from the clergy was that they would submit to the government of the French Republic. But the more fanatical members of the Directory—Rewbell, Barras and La Réveillière—were determined to allow no relaxation of the persecution. In defiance of the law which forbade troops to be stationed within twelve leagues of the place where the legislature might be sitting, they collected several regiments close to Paris, brought others into the city during the night, which were placed under the command of Augereau, whose Jacobin opinions were well known, and on 18 Fructidor an V. (4th September, 1797) the Moderates were expelled from the two councils, their elections were annulled and many of them, as well as the two Directors Barthélemy and Carnot, sentenced to deportation.[38] By the law of 19 Fructidor the concessions made to the Catholics were revoked, the Directors were given the power of deporting any priest under any pretext, and the ecclesiastics who were allowed to remain in France were obliged to take a new oath—that of hatred to royalty and anarchy and of fidelity to the republic and to the Constitution of the year III.[39] Another decree of 4 Brumaire an VI. (25th October, 1797) enacted that no priest should be allowed to officiate anywhere unless he had taken this oath.

To augment still more the difficulties against which the Catholics had to struggle, La Réveillière had taken under his protection the sect of the *"théophilanthropes,"* and in virtue of the law of 11

[38] Carnot escaped in time and took refuge in Switzerland.

[39] Sciout, *ibid*, p. 586. "Article 24. Le Directoire exécutif est investi du pouvoir de déporter par des arrêtés individuels motivés, les prêtres qui troubleraient dans l'intérieur la tranquillité publique."

Prairial an III. (30th May 1795), which placed the former parish churches at the service of the citizens of different religions who might demand them, he had caused them to be allowed the use of the same churches as the Catholics. In Paris this extraordinary measure, which seems to have been in operation even before the 18th Fructidor, was regulated by a decree of the Administration of the Department of the Seine. The Catholics were to have the use of the church until 11 o'clock, when all their religious emblems and ornaments were to be carried off in order to make way for the altar laden with fruit and flowers before which the *"théophilanthropes,"* who held their feasts on the *décadi,* which sometimes coincided with Sunday, pronounced their discourses and sang their hymns up to 3 o'clock. After each ceremony the keys of the church were to be given up to the Commissioner of Police of the section.[40] In some churches the chancel was left to the *théophilanthropes,* while the body of the building was reserved for the Catholics; but a decree of the administrators placed the organ and the pulpit at the service of both. A stricter supervision then began to be exercised over the clergy, which caused the arrest and imprisonment of many priests suspected of not having taken the oaths or of having retracted them, and on 14 Floréal an VI. (30th May, 1798) the administration closed all places of worship except the fifteen churches granted by the law of 11 Prairial (30th May, 1795). Mass might, indeed, still be said in chapels situated in private houses, but not more than ten persons besides those residing on the premises were to be allowed to assist at it.[41]

The victory which the Directory had won over the Moderates on the 18th Fructidor, and the care which they took to replace the local authorities inclined to be merciful by others less wanting in zeal, enabled them to inaugurate a fresh persecution of the clergy as pitiless as that of the days of Robespierre. A large number of priests, encouraged by the abrogation of the penal laws of 1792 and 1793, had returned from exile and many others had publicly retracted their oath to the *Constitution Civile.*[42] They were now in all parts of France pursued without mercy. The peasantry helped to conceal them and often rescued them when taken; but many were tried by court-martial and shot as *émigrés,* though the Directory, fearing to irritate the people by renewing the scenes of bloodshed of *"la Terreur,"* preferred to send its victims to perish in the pestilential climate of Guyana, known as *"la guillotine sèche,"* the dry guillotine.

The celebration of the *décadi,* which had been much neglected, was again revived and insisted on by the Directory; the former laws

40 Grente, *ibid,* p. 80.
41 Grente, *ibid,* p. 85.
42 Sciout, *ibid,* p. 635.

were strictly applied and new regulations still more vexatious were drawn up in order to force all the citizens to accept the republican and anti-Christian calendar. Thus by successive decrees it was forbidden to work at a trade, to open a shop or expose anything except food for sale on the *décadi* and to observe Sunday as a day of rest. An official form of worship was drawn up which underwent many modifications, but in general it consisted, according to a decree of the Administration of the Department of the Seine,[43] in reading the laws which had been recently enacted, questioning the school children on the arcticles of the Constitution which they had learned during the *décadi,* and proclaiming with an accompaniment of military music the names of the soldiers of the department who had been killed in battle. This was followed by the publication of the births and deaths of the *décadi* and by the celebration of the marriages taking place in that district, to which the sounds of an orchestra or of the organ served as a prelude, and the ceremony was ended by "a lively symphony of a nature to inspire the citizens with generous and fraternal sentiments."[44] It was, however, found to be impossible to force the majority of the French people to accept this grotesque form of worship or to observe the republican calendar, in accordance with which it was also decreed that the dates of fairs and markets should be fixed. Even the sale of fish was prohibited on the days indicated by the former calendar as days of abstinence.[45] The reports furnished by the police and by the provincial authorities show that in Paris Sunday and the feasts of the Church were still observed almost as much as before the revolution, and that the peasantry refused to rest on the *décadi* and to work on Sunday. The persecution did not, however, cease until the Consulate.

The return of Bonaparte from Egypt was hailed with enthusiasm by the French people, for they saw in him the only man capable of raising the country from the state of financial ruin and social corruption to which the tyrannical and incapable government of the Directory had reduced it. They also hoped that he would restore religious liberty in France and put an end to the persecution of the Church, whence arose the civil war which still desolated many of the western departments. It was not, however, with the assistance of the Catholics, but in a great measure of revolutionists who, having amassed large fortunes by fraud and peculation under the Directory, now feared to be plundered in their turn by the Jacobins, that Bona-

[43] Of 18 Nivvôse an VII. (January 7, 1799).

[44] Sciout, *ibid,* p. 703.

[45] Sciout, *ibid,* p. 688. ("Les administrations municipales s'attacheront spécialement à rompre tout rapport des marchés à poissons avec les jours d'abstinence désignés par le ancien calendrier.") Decree of 14 Germinal an VI. (April 3, 1798).

parte struck his decisive blow and overthrew the government on the 18 Brumaire an VIII. (4th November, 1799). But these men to whom he owed his success and whom he was obliged to retain in the public service were thoroughly anti-Christian, and though he perceived that in every part of France there was an ardent desire for religious peace, he knew that it was only by proceeding slowly and cautiously and by mitigating the application of the laws rather than by abrogating them at once, that he could hope to put an end to the persecution. He did not even hasten to bring back the few survivors of the hundreds of priests who had been deported to Guyana, but a certain number of those who were still detained in the islands of Ré and Oléron and of those who filled the departmental prisons were released or even allowed to escape.[46] A decree of 7 Nivôse (28th December, 1799) enacted that a declaration of fidelity to the Constitution should be substituted for the former oaths, and by another of the same date the regulations by which certain provincial administrators had closed the churches on every day except the *décadi,* in order to prevent Mass from being said on Sunday, were annulled.

It was probably in order to calm the fears of his anti-Christian partisans, who might have seen in these acts the cessation of the warfare against the Church, that on the 29 Ventôse (20th March, 1800) Fouché, the Minister of Police, in replying to a provincial authority stated that the laws of 1792 and 1793 which condemned to exile or deportation the priests who had refused to take the oath to the *Constitution Civile* had not been repealed; that these priests should therefore remain in prison, and could only be set free by a special decision of the government.[47] It is true that another circular of Fouché's on June 17 declared that any member of the clergy, whether he had been bound to take the previous oaths or not, might be allowed to make the new declaration, but this was followed on July 8 and August 22 by others, in which the prefects were warned that the priests who had refused to take the former oaths, and who had in consequence been exiled or deported, should, before taking the new oath, as a first and necessary condition, obtain a special authorization from the government to return to France or to reside there if they had escaped being deported.[48] Those who came back

[46] Sciout, *ibid,* t. IV., pp. 762-767. The decree of the 8 Frimaire an VIII. (November 29, 1799) allowed the release of the priests detained in the islands who had taken all the oaths. It was meant especially for the relief of the Constitutional clergy, but several of the orthodox clergy who had not been bound to take the first oaths and those who had been recently ordained were also set free.

[47] Sciout, *ibid,* IV., 771.

[48] Sciout, *Constitution Civile,* IV., p. 775.

without authorization should be arrested and imprisoned. Every concession to the Church was thus followed by an explanation which seemed to annul it; but it was generally left to the local authorities to interpret and carry out the ministerial instructions, either in accordance with their own opinions or according to the energy with which the people manifested their attachment to their religion. It is thus that in Brittany and in Vendée, where the resistance to the Revolution had been so stubborn, the Church enjoyed almost complete liberty, while at Tours in June, 1800, various sentences were pronounced on about fifty persons who had closed their shops on the feast of Pentecost, and in some of the eastern departments priests were still arrested and imprisoned. The situation of religious affairs in France in the early days of the Consulate is well described in a contemporary report made by a royalist: "Bonaparte, who is no fool, adapts his measures to the character of his subjects, and there are not, perhaps, three departments in France where the laws on religion and the clergy are executed with uniformity."[49]

Bonaparte was, by his own confession, indifferent to all religions.[50] He had served without scruple the anti-Christian governments of the Convention and the Directory, but he was far from having the fanatical hatred of the Church which distinguished his Jacobin associates. He recognized that it was useless to seek to force the majority of the French people to abandon the Catholic Church for the incredulity of the philosophers or for the schismatical church founded by the *Constitution Civile,* and that it was only by ceasing the persecution, suppressing the schism and acknowledging the authority of Rome that order and tranquillity could be restored in France. The first public intimation which he got of his desire to effect a reconciliation between France and the Holy See was during his second invasion of Italy in 1800. On June 5 of that year he spoke in a conciliatory tone to the clergy of Milan assembled in the cathedral. He assured them that the French were the friends of Italy and asked them what they could hope to obtain from the Protestants, the schismatics and the Mussulmans who had been sent to

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[49] Archives de Chantilly, quoted by Mr. Albert Vandal in the *Revue des deux Mondes,* February 1, 1907, p. 481.

[50] At the meeting of the Council of State on 28 Thermidor an VIII. (August 16, 1800) Bonaparte said: "My policy is to govern men as the greater number wish to be governed. That, I believe, is the way to acknowledge the sovereignty of the people. It was by making myself Catholic that I ended the war in Vendée; by making myself Mussulman that I established myself in Egypt; by making myself ultramontain that I won over the minds of the Italians. If I had to govern a nation of Jews, I should rebuild the temple of Solomon." (Rœderer, Mémoires, t. III., p. 334. Quoted by Boulay de la Meurthe. Documents sur la Négociation du Concordat. Paris, 1891, t. I., p. 76.)

them.[51] The French, on the contrary, were of the same religion as the Italians, and though they had had some disputes, that could be easily arranged and made up.[52] These few words, published on Bonaparte's return to Paris, and probably from his lips, are considered to be a more authentic report of his speech than the much longer version which was published at the time in Genoa, where the French Minister, M. Dejean, denounced it as of doubtful origin, and which was reprinted in several French towns. According to this document, every edition of which Fouché, the Minister of Police, caused to be seized,[53] but which has been inserted in the official *Correspondance de Napoléon I."* Bonaparte assured the clergy that he wished to let them know his sentiments with regard to the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion, as he was convinced that it was the only one which could procure the true happiness of society, and that he would always protect and defend it by every means. He promised also to punish rigorously and even by death whoever should offer any insult to religion or to their sacred persons. He wished that the Catholic religion should enjoy as much liberty as it had when he first invaded Italy. The changes which had then taken place had been contrary to his will and to his mode of thinking; but he was at that time merely the instrument of a government which did not care about the Catholic religion, and which, for the purpose of overthrowing it, had caused disturbances which he could not prevent. Now, however, he had full powers and was resolved to do all he could to protect religion. He then pointed out to them that, in spite of the accusations of the philosophers, who, by representing the Catholic religion as being hostile to democracy and to a republican form of government, had been the cause of the cruel persecution in France, the Catholic religion could adapt itself to every form of government, and that it is the only one which gives to man certain and infallible light with regard to his origin and his last end. A society without religion is like a ship without a compass—unable to find its way. It is agitated by the most violent passions and becomes a prey to all the fury of civil war, which, sooner or later, causes its ruin. France, however, had at last opened her eyes; she had recalled the Catholic religion; the churches are now reopened, and the former pastors return, full of zeal, to their flocks; and the general asserted that he had very much contributed to bring about this state of affairs. He also said that the misfortunes of Pius VI. might be ascribed in a certain degree to the cruel

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[51] An allusion to the English, Russians and Turks who had been the allies of Austria.

[52] *Journal de Paris*, 14 Messidor an VIII. (3 Juillet, 1800).

[53] He accused it of being a "libelle fanatique," a fanatical pamphlet.

policy of the Directory, and he expressed the hope that he would clear away all the obstacles which hindered the complete reconciliation of France with the Pope as soon as he could have an interview with the Holy Father. He also told the clergy that thenceforth their property should be respected, and that they should be provided with a suitable endowment; and he concluded by approving the publication of his speech, so that his intentions might be known all over Europe.[54]

The victory of Marengo (14th June, 1800), by which at one blow Bonaparte regained for the republic the supremacy in Italy which had been lost during his absence in Egypt, gave him the assurance that his popularity would thenceforth be so firmly established in France that he would be able to overcome whatever resistance the anti-Christian party might oppose to him, and that any measures which he might see fit to adopt for the restoration of religion would be accepted. On his return, therefore, to Milan he ordered a "Te Deum" to be sung in the cathedral, at which he assisted, and announced the fact defiantly to Cambacérès and Lebrun, his fellow-consuls. "To-day, in spite of what our atheists of Paris may say, I shall go in state to the 'Te Deum' which is to be sung in the cathedral of Milan."[55]

Bonaparte left Milan on June 25. At Vercelli he had an interview with the Bishop Cardinal Martiniana, whom he had already met when on his way to Marengo, and on the following day the Cardinal sent to Rome an account of this conversation, in which the general had stated the chief ideas which were to serve as the foundation of the Concordat. According to this letter, Bonaparte had expressed to the Cardinal his ardent desire of reëstablishing order in the ecclesiastical affairs of France; he had requested him to take charge of the negotiations with the Holy Father, and had assured him that if successful, he would do all in his power to restore all its States to the Holy See. He expressed his intention of completely sweeping away the Gallican Church. The Bishops who had emigrated were, he said, no longer suited to France, as the greater part of them had left the country for purely temporal motives.[56] As for the intrusive Bishops, he did not wish to hear them mentioned. New Bishops, he thought,

[54] Correspondance de Napoléon I., t. VI., p. 426, No. 4,384. Allocution aux Curés de la Ville de Milan, 16 Prairial, an VIII. (June 5, 1800). Published at Genoa by Andrea Frugoni.

[55] Correspondance de Napoléon I., t. VI., p. 469, No. 4,923. Aux Consuls de la République. Milan, 29 Prairial, an VIII. (June 18, 1800). "Aujourd'hui malgré ce qu'en pourrent dire nos athées de Paris, je vais en grande cérémonie au 'Te Deum' que l'on chante à la métropole de Milan."

[56] A false accusation. The Bishops, like the rest of the clergy, had been driven into exile because they refused to take the oath to the *Constitution Civile*, and many of them had to fly to save their lives.

should therefore be chosen by whoever governed the nation, and be canonically instituted by the Holy See, whence they should receive their mission and their bulls. Moreover, as after so many years of revolution all the property once held by the Church of France had been alienated, and that its recovery would be impossible and would throw the nation into fresh disturbances, he thought it necessary, in order not to impose too heavy burdens on the nation, to reduce as much as possible the number of sees, and that until landed property (*fondi stabili*) could be assigned to each see every Bishop should be paid by the national treasury a pension of from two thousand to two thousand five hundred Roman scudi, or from ten to eleven thousand French livres.[57]

Though the reception of these unexpected proposals from the conqueror of Marengo and the ruler of the people which had spread irreligion and desolation throughout Italy caused Pius VII. great surprise and consolation, he could only reply to them with great caution and reserve. The antecedents of General Bonaparte were not calculated to inspire the Papal government with much confidence. At Tolentino he had imposed a crushing war tax upon the Holy See and deprived it of its richest provinces, and from Paris he had directed General Berthier's march upon Rome. In Egypt he had placed the Mahometan profession of faith as heading to his letters; he had professed his admiration for the Koran and had boasted that the French had overthrown the Pope, who had said that war ought to be made on Mahometans.[58] Still, the prospect of seeing religion reëstablished in France, and so many millions of souls brought back into the Church, made the Holy Father answer Cardinal Martiniana without delay. He expressed to him the pleasure which the letter had caused him; he declared that he was willing to enter into a negotiation of which the object was so important, and that as it would be difficult to treat such arduous and delicate matters by letter, he would send to him a person in whom he had full confidence, who should explain to him his intentions with regard to all the questions which it would be necessary to discuss and to define.

Mgr. Spina, Archbishop of Corinth, whom the Holy Father sent to conduct this negotiation, had followed Pius VI. in his captivity and had assisted him in his last moments. He had already met Bonaparte at Valence when the general was returning from Egypt, and through his intervention had obtained a passport to leave France, which the Directory had refused to grant him. A congregation of

[57] Cardinal Mathieu. Le Concordat de 1801, ses Origines, son Histoire, d'après des Documents inédits. Paris, 1903, p. 3.

[58] Correspondance de Napoléon I., t. IV., p. 269, No. 2,723. Quartier général Alexandrie, 16 Messidor, an VI. (2 Juillet, 1798); 18 du mois de Muharram, l'an de l'hégire 1213. Proclamation on landing: "N'est-ce pas nous qui avons détruit le Pape qui disait qu'il fallait faire la guerre aux Mussulmans?"

five Cardinals,[59] assisted by five prelates and other theologians, was charged with drawing up the instructions which were to guide Mgr. Spina in his important mission. His duty was simply to declare what the Papal government would concede or refuse, but he had no power to make any agreement or to come to any conclusion. It was only on September 4 that Talleyrand, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who always took matters leisurely and was not very anxious to see religion reëstablished in France, replied to Cardinal Martiniana expressing the thanks of the First Consul for the copy of the Holy Father's letter which had been sent to him and enclosing a passport to enable the Archbishop of Corinth to come to Paris. Mgr. Spina received the Cardinal's letter with the passport at Florence on September 25. He had not foreseen that the French government would invite him to go to Paris—a clever manœuvre by which the First Consul brought the Papal delegate under his immediate influence and made it seem to all Europe as though the demand for reconciliation proceeded from the Holy Father, who would have much preferred that the question should have been treated in Rome.[60] Mgr. Spina, therefore, thought it advisable to refer to Cardinal Consalvi and ask for further instructions. He received them at Vercelli, where he arrived only on October 5, as he had been arrested on his way at Modena by the police of the Cisalpine Republic and released by the intervention of the French general commanding at Guastalla. These instructions may be resumed in the words, *"sentire e informare,"* to hear and to give information. He was not to incur any responsibility, but to sound the mind of the government and ascertain if its intentions were sincere; he was to keep down its demands as much as possible and form a basis on which a Concordat could be with its reciprocal obligations established. "He was to declare that he was not a Minister, and to refuse every honor offered to him in that capacity by whoever might be the ruler in France. He was to avoid diplomatic circles and the etiquette due to a Minister, and to protest that he had been sent to Paris to treat purely spiritual affairs, which the Pope as Head of the Church could not refuse to do."[61] Furnished with these instructions and accompanied by Padre Caselli, a distinguished theologian who had been general of the Servite Order, Mgr. Spina left Vercelli on October 21 and arrived in Paris on November 5.

Donat Sampson.

London, W.

[59] P. Flario Rinieri, S. J. La Diplomazia Pontificia nel secolo XIX. Roma, 1902, t. I., p. 18. Cardinals Albani, Gerdil, Carandini, Antonelli and della Somaglia.

[60] Cardinal Mathieu, *ibid*, p. 13. P. Rinieri, *ibid*, p. 23.

[61] Instructions to Mgr. Spina, October 13, 1800, from the Vatican Archives. Rinieri, p. 24.

DANTE AND GOETHE: THEIR PHILOSOPHIES OF LIFE.

AN UNKNOWN critic some years ago, in reviewing a recent volume on modern literature and dogma, wrote: "The individual Catholic student of art and literature, however broad his sympathies or sensitive his appreciation, must, like the Church from whom he receives his highest ideals, stand for definite principles amidst the clash of opinions and the bewildering variety of specious views on the true, the beautiful and the good." The truth of these significant words is apparent to the Catholic mind without much consideration. In these days, when the old religion has to meet the new philosophy in the multiple forms in which it daily appears, the Catholic must judge the new solutions of the old problems in the light of the teaching of the Church, from which he receives his ideals. The world is filled with literature, much more is daily coming forth from the press, and each volume of this great library is written with a purpose. Novels, poetry, essays, lectures and treatises all deal with the great central questions of man's being, origin, destiny and conduct. Every author wishes to let the world know what happens to be his view of life, either in a general way or from some particular aspect, and each strives earnestly in his own way to win over as many minds as possible to his manner of thinking. It is an acknowledged fact that but few men really think for themselves, and that most men get their ideals from the stronger minds of those who rise above the multitude. Men, as Carlyle says,[1] are gregarious animals and go through life in flocks and herds; when they find a bellwether, they usually follow him in the intellectual world whithersoever he leads. Hence arise in the world the various schools of thought, all endeavoring to give answer to some phase or other of the old problem, "What is the meaning of life?" The problem has, of course, only one answer, and that has been given long ago and entrusted in its fullness to the Church; and in proportion as men have in whole or in part drifted away from the teaching of Christ's Church, they have rejected the true solution, which she alone possesses in its fullness, and have made unto themselves myriad solutions according to their individual satisfaction. The consequence is that there is, in the expressive language of a recent writer,[2] "the dazzling sight of ten thousand banners that rise into the air with Orient colors waving." The word "dazzling" is undoubtedly used here with premeditation, for each of these banners has a following of enthusiastic, but rather bewildered disciples.

[1] *Cf.* "Sartor Resartus."

[2] William Barry, D. D., in "Heralds of Revolt" (1904).

Just at present Zola, Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Hardy, Sudermann, Bernard Shaw and Frenssen seem to lead the van, but in the course of events they shall soon be forced to retire to make room for other leaders, who for the time being may seem to offer greater inducements for the popular favor. Literature, as Cardinal Newman says, is the voice of the spirit of man. The modern spirit of literature is naturally different from that of the old, since the world's literature, being, as is to be expected, to a great extent an expression of the time-spirit (Zeitgeist) of the ages which produced it, has been affected by the revolution which has occurred within the last few centuries in the intellectual as well as in the political and religious world. The old order has given way to the new, with all its changes; the citizen of these latter days finds himself in an atmosphere of thought quite different from that in which his fathers lived.

The purpose of this present article is to bring out in contrast, as well as we may by a comparative study, the spirit of the old order compared with that of the new, especially as each is revealed in the literature of its day. For

> What spirit of the *times* you call,
> Good sirs, is but *your* spirit, after all,
> In which the times are seen reflected.
> —**Faust, Part I.**

It is patent that any adequate treatment of such a broad subject would require, to say the least, a space of a good-sized volume. Consequently it is necessary in the present article to abridge the matter by choosing representative leaders of thought who have embodied in their masterpieces the philosophies of life, of which it is purposed to make a comparative study. The search for such representative authors is a short and easy one. For there are two most conspicuous representatives, who present themselves almost spontaneously to the mind as the embodiment of the thought of the old and of the new order. Surely no more representative exponents of the old and of the new spirit can be found than the immortal Dante and the illustrious Goethe. For the former is so full of the spirit and learning of the mediæval age that in order to appreciate him one must not only have a knowledge of the times and of the principles that he represents, but must also be able to enter into sympathy with the great Florentine's view of life, even though it may not always agree with one's own. And in Goethe, on the other hand, is found a concentration of all the subtle forces which for the past few centuries have been engendering the new spirit in literature, and it is especially to his influence, and that of his many disciples, that the new philosophy of life has been diffused throughout the intellectual world.

The purpose of both the "Divina Commedia" and of the "Faust" is evidently to set forth a philosophy of life. Both these great poems are masterpieces of allegory and symbolism, under the veil of whose mysterious verses there lies a hidden message. Of the two authors, Dante is decidedly the more explicit, and, as it may be taken for granted that the readers of this article already know from other sources and ever hold as true the *essentials* of his philosophy of life, which is identical with that which the Catholic Church proposes in her daily teaching, it is hardly necessary to here give an exposition of its doctrine. The "Divina Commedia" is a vision and an allegory. It is a vision of the world beyond the grave; it is an allegory, based upon the vision, of the life and destiny of man, his need of light and guidance, his duties to the temporal and spiritual powers. In the *literal* sense the subject is the state of souls after death. In the *allegorical* (and possibly for our purpose more important sense), according to the epistle of Dante to Can Grande, its subject is "Man, as by freedom of will meriting and demeriting, he is subject to Justice rewarding and punishing." The end of the poem is to remove those living in this life from the state of misery and lead them to a state of felicity. In the individual this will be accomplished by opening his eyes to the nature of vice by a journey through the infernal regions, by inducing him to do penance and strive Godwards in the Purgatorio; and after the state of innocence has been regained, by leading him to contemplation of eternal truth in the Paradiso. The whole poem is a mystical epic of the freedom of man's will, enlightened by human reason and Divine Revelation.[3] The dominant theme of the great work is, to borrow the well-known words of a modern poet, to relate the way of fallen man "upon the great world's altar stairs, that slope through darkness up to God." The "Faust" likewise has both a literal and an allegorical meaning. Goethe also would give us a Critique of life. All his works, Goethe said, were "fragments of one confession." The "Faust, the dream of his youth, the finished product of his old age, is the most complete confession of his spirit and philosophy of life. The theme of the "Faust" tragedy, underlying its varied and complicated elements, is therefore somewhat similar to that of the "Commedia"—namely, the fall, probation and ultimate restoration of the struggling human soul. The student Faust, baffled in his attempt to solve the problem of the universe, curses in his despair the lofty aspirations of his higher nature, yields to the tempter, and in the vain desire to still the cravings of his soul by a contract signed in blood, sells his soul to Mephistopheles, the devil, on condition that the demon give him happiness here in this life.

[3] *Cf.* Gardner, "Dante Primer."

When to the moment fleeting past me,
  Tarry! I cry, so fair thou art!
Then into fetters mayst thou cast me;
  Then come doom with all my heart!
Then toll the death bell, do not linger,
  Then be the bondage o'er and done;
Let the clock stop, let fall the finger,
  Let Time for me be past and gone!
—Faust's bargain with Mephistopheles.

He plunges into the depths of sensual gratification of various forms, but is permanently lost, however, according to Goethe's concept, only on one condition—namely, the complete subjection of the higher to the lower elements of his being, the permanent triumph of self-indulgence over aspiration and effort. The ultimate end of Faust remains uncertain to the last. He finally finds supreme happiness in laboring for humanity, in redeeming from the elements an extended region of marsh land, which through his supervision is transformed into a sphere for human activity and modern civilization. Death seizes him in the moment of his supreme happiness and hopeful anticipations; Mephistopheles and his devils crowd around the corpse to pounce upon the soul as it leaves the body, according to the contract, but the angels refuse the devil his due, seize the immortal part of Faust, bear it aloft amid great rejoicing, and the redemption of Faust is accomplished to Goethe's satisfaction on the principle, "Wer immer strebend sich bemüht, Den können wir erlösen." "Whoever strives unweariedly is not beyond redemption.") Both Dante and Faust tread "the primrose path that leads to the great bonfire;" both pass through a period of trial and purgation, and both attain to the ultimate end of their existence, the summum bonum of life according to the concepts of the respective authors. The question before us now is, there being such a similarity in these "Summas" of the old and of the new order, what is a disciple of the school of Dante, to which, I dare to presume, most of my readers belong, to say concerning the new philosophy of life as set forth by Goethe in the "Faust" tragedy?

Probably the first thing which such a one wishes to express is the general impression which the "Faust" tragedy as a whole makes upon him. The "Divina Commedia" has well been likened to an old mediæval cathedral, and the feeling which one experiences in passing from the "Commedia" into the "Faust" tragedy is similar to that felt by the traveler who with reverential feet has wandered through the sanctuaries of some such continental cathedral, over "the congregation of the dead," "from tomb to tomb," past the records of bygone ages and altars built, as it were, for eternity, amid the solemn sound of the organ and of "the old Latin hymns of peace and love and benedictions of the Holy Ghost" in an atmosphere of peace, and who passes out into "the undistinguish-

able roar," "the loud vociferations of the street"[4] and the rush of the busy modern world, which, it may be, has grown up around this mediæval monument. The "Faust" is so full of the modern spirit that one has but entered into its first pages ere he misses the solemn sound of the organ's peal and hears in its stead, if he but listen, "the dreary, dull undertone of moral unrest and sadness which runs through much of modern literature—a low, deep wail, musical enough, if you like, echoing along the minor chords of human misery."[5] Such a note was never struck on the lyre of Dante. If ever a poet had a reason for giving vent to a feeling of the misery of life, it was the exiled, homesick, weary Dante, who, as he tells us in the "Paradiso" (Canto xvii.), had bitter proof

> How savoreth of salt
> The bread of others, and how hard a road
> The going down and up another's stairs,

whose haggard cheeks and lips clasped together, whose scars of a lifelong battle and ascetic look, whose wrinkled brow show that he had trod the savage and arduous way and had felt the touch of the tragedy of life; and yet we listen in vain for a sound of that dreary infelicity and dissatisfaction with life which seems to run through the "Faust" as an underlining theme. Goethe undoubtedly did not intend that this strain should enter into his composition, for in the prelude to the "Faust" the poet tells us:

> 'Tis with the harmony his bosom doth conceive
> That in his heart knits up the raveled sleeve
> Of this frayed world;

but this dreary undertone has crept in, nevertheless, probably as a natural result of his philosophy of life. The malady of the age, it has been well remarked, is ennui, the eternal getting tired of and wearying of monotony in religion, art, science and in literature itself, a disease which is called by the Germans very appropriately "Weltschmerz"—"Worldweariness." It is unknown to Dante. We look in vain, even in his vindictive thrusts at his enemies, for a sign of this dreary, hopeless infelicity. His philosophy of life does not permit it; Goethe's has engendered it unwillingly. The secret of its presence can, I think, be made known by applying to Goethe the words which Margaret speaks to Faust:

> It seemeth fair in those words of thine;
> But yet there's something stands awry,
> For thou hast no Christianity.

In the "Faust" is found recurring frequently the search for happiness. The hero seeks after it in luxurious living, and fails. He

[4] *Cf.* Longfellow's prologue to translation of "Divina Commedia."
[5] Rev. P. A. Sheehan, D. D.

seeks it in intellectualism, and fails more sadly. He seeks after it in altruism, and succeeds, at least according to Goethe's satisfaction; but he only snatches at a wraith of happiness, for after a vain search "in the little world and then the great," when he at last finds the summum bonum of life in the self-satisfaction of altruism, there is still a desire unsatisfied in the heart and the dying breath of Faust exclaims: *"Stay,* happy moment." It is true that Faust is saved and his soul borne up to heaven by the angels, but the heaven of Goethe is as earthly as his virtue was natural and differs as much from the "Paradiso" of Dante as his philosophy of life is different. Never a note of Christian victory, never a psalm of hope, never a sound of that canticle of canticles, prophetic of the future triumph which the grand old Church of Dante so sweetly foretells in the beautiful Benediction hymn, the life without end in our true fatherland with God:

Qui vitam sine termino
Nobis donet in patria.

How different is the beatitude to which Dante attains, wherein all ardor of desire dies away, wherein his intellectual vision is united to the Divine Essence, wherein his will is made to move in perfect harmony with the will of God and his soul is filled with blessedness, wherein his nature attains its proper end and perfection in the union through charity with "L'amor che muove il sole e l'altre stelle," with "the Love that moves the sun and the other stars."[6]

II.

The fact stands that literature throughout the past century to a great extent usurped the place of religion as the guide and teacher of mankind. The fact stands also that this attempt of intellectualism has always left an unsatisfied longing in the human heart, a craving after its proper object. If the intellect rejects God and religion, it has to create a god and a religious cult of its own. This god may be Ethical Culture; it may be Nature; it may be Humanity or some other idol. All these forms of religion have been and are still being preached to the world by rhyming prophets and latter day evangelists. In all these gospels, as, indeed, in all errors which have obtained a hold on the minds of men, there is, of course, a certain degree of truth which acts as a kind of sugar-coating on the pill. *Culture,* for instance, is always a desideratum in society; the natural man is to be the foundation for the supernatural; but the motive of the modern cry of Culture as a panacea of all social evils is not a sane one. Ancient Greece, pagan Rome and Christian,

[6] "Paradiso," Canto XXXIII.

too, were never so low in the moral scale as when they stood highest in the scale of "Culture," as the latter day evangelists understand that word. The effect of Matthew Arnold's gospel of Culture, it may be noted, has not been in all respects a happy one for England. The *Sense of the Beautiful* also is indeed an important factor in helping man to appreciate the highest things of life and "the wild joys of living;" but it should never become a norm of morality, according to which sin may lose its malice in losing its grossness. As Dr. Barry expresses it in his "Life of Cardinal Newman," man "should never substitute for the art of life, so painful and so difficult, the life of art," or, at best, the religion of a false philosophy. *Nature,* too, is a source of pleasure in life and the means of leading man to see the Creator "in the shining of the stars and the flowering of the fields," but it should never become, as it has for many, an object of worship in itself. It is difficult to account for the mad rush of modern society to nature worship, to pantheism, in any other way than by the theory of the universal and insatiable craving of the human soul after the Infinite. The loss of a true notion of God is followed by the unrest and self-disgust, the ennui and weltschmertz, manifest in much of modern thought and by a consequent return to nature worship, the searching everywhere for the great heathen deity Pan. It is the old story of many in Israel going after false gods. But it is not only Nature, the Æsthetic Sense, and Culture that have been deified, for even the great abstract idea of *"Humanity"* has been made a god. It is the avowed deity of Positivism and the idol of many who belong to no particular sect. It is perhaps the noblest, if one may so speak, of all these earthly deities, for it had its birth in lamentable social conditions and would never have been born if men had been faithful to Christian ideals. "Love your fellow-man" is the only moral precept which this new gospel of Humanitarianism preaches. But for 1,900 years the Church of Dante has taught that lesson, inculcated by the words and examples of Him who laid down His life for His fellow-men, and with a higher altruism inspired those who would live according to His philosophy of life, saying: "By this shall men know that ye are My disciples, that ye love one another." The old Church has been working for humanity from the beginning. The gospel of the love of humanity is not new. It is at least as old as Calvary, as young as the present, as lasting as the Church of Christ. The rôle of the Church throughout the centuries has been essentially humanitarian and philanthropic, but "with her leading lights towards eternity." All this late preaching about the trend and object of evolution and modern progress being the happiness of the greater number, wrought out by the "Entsagung" and "Selbsttödtung" of

chosen souls, is but the cant of those litterateurs whose bias is towards naturalism and materialism, whose one great dogma is "the Eternal Ego," whose constant effort is to furnish a substitute for the Christianity of Christ. It is this poor fetish of humanitarianism, altruism, in the self-satisfaction which comes from striving for others, that the hero of Goethe's masterpiece is made to find the summum bonum of life.

All these forms of the worship of Ethical Culture, of the Æsthetic Sense, of Nature and of Humanity are preached to a greater or less extent by Goethe. They are all manifestations of the new spirit which has crept into literature under the influences of the great changes of thought which have occurred during the past few centuries. But "there is no such religion of literature," some one may say to himself. Listen, my skeptical friend, if you have not already discovered the fact in the study of the world's literature, listen to the testimony of Goethe's greatest disciple, the author of "Sartor Resartus" (P. 228, Camelot edit.): "Fool! I tell thee, there is. Hast thou well considered all that lies in this immeasurable froth-ocean we name *Literature?* Fragments of a genuine *Church-Homiletic* lie scattered there, which Time will assort; nay, fractions even of a *Liturgy* could I point out. And knowest thou no Prophet, even in the vesture, environment and dialect of this age? None to whom the Godlike had revealed itself, through all meanest and highest forms of the Common, and by him again prophetically revealed; in whose inspired melody, even in these rag-gathering and rag-burning days, Man's Life again begins, were it but afar off, to be divine? Knowest thou none such? I know him, and name him—Goethe." In these words the disciple Carlyle takes delight in pointing out the new cult of Literature and in proclaiming Goethe its prophet. But it is not to Goethe alone that (to quote again the words of Carlyle) "the Godlike has revealed itself." The author of "Sartor Resartus" has himself some claim to be ranked among the greater prophets, to say nothing of the series of innumerable minor ones who have blessed the world down to our present day. "What Comte and Spencer have taught in the name of philosophy, Tyndall and Huxley in the name of science, George Eliot, Mrs. Humphrey Ward and a host of others have applied to life and its problems."[7] Matthew Arnold teaches practically the same doctrine. "Arnold," says Hutton in "Modern Guides of English Thought in Matters of Faith" (page 126), "tells us quite plainly that the facts—or, as he calls them, 'the supposed facts'—by which the religious affections have been fostered in us, are illusions, that *our religion* is *nothing* in the world *but the culture of that ideal life,* which man has happily a

[7] Cooke on G. Eliot, ch. ix.

tendency to develop. These are his (Arnold's) words: 'The future of poetry is immense, because *in poetry,* where it is worthy of its high destinies, our race, as time goes on, will find an ever surer and surer stay. There is not a creed which is not shaken, not an accredited dogma which is not shown to be questionable, not a received tradition which does not threaten to dissolve. Our religion has materialized itself in the fact—in the *supposed* fact; it has attached its emotion to the fact, and now the fact is failing it. But for *poetry* the idea is everything; the rest is a world of illusion—of divine illusion. Poetry attaches its emotion to the idea; the idea is the fact.' Well, if that be so (observes Hutton) the emotion which Mr. Arnold insists on, in order to transform *morality into religion,* becomes a very mild and æsthetic kind of emotion indeed—not one which can irradiate the penitent's heart with gratitude."

Such is the modern religion of Literature; such are its prophets. All these unhappy unbelievers reject the proffered light of faith and the true philosophy of life which accompanies it, manufacture a religion to suit their own tastes and convenience, and endeavor to make for themselves as comfortable and as permanent an abode as possible here on earth.[8] However much we may lament the infi-

> Each the known track of sage philosophy
> Deserts, and has a byway of his own;
> So much the restless eagerness to shine
> And love of singularity do prevail.

delity, or admire the genius of these modern philanthropists, they are a pitiable lot when viewed in the light of the philosophy of Dante. Well may they call for "Mehr Licht" on their deathbeds. The Church has her own grand old philosophy of life, which is to-day essentially the same as it was in the days of the great Florentine. The intellectual and moral unrest of the modern world, the various latter day creeds are only the legitimate offspring of a refusal three centuries ago to hearken to the voice of that Church. "Who art thou? What is thy name? said the student to the Spirit of Evil. 'I am the Spirit that denies,' was the answer. And the poodle of Reformation heresy that has been running around in circles for the last three hundred years has now swollen into the big monster behind the stove. And out of the swollen Monster-Materialism, and to the music of the spirits of Poetry and the Fine Arts, steps the urbane, cultured scholar, who makes his bow: 'I am the Spirit that denies.' "[9]

But the philosophy of Dante, we are told, was all very good in the Dark Ages, but in this light-illumined twentieth century we are not to go back to mediævalism for our philosophy of life, when we

[8] As Dante says:
[9] Sheehan, "Luke Delmege," p. 452. *Cf.* "The Faust," Part I.

have ever so many systems of our own and when our own "illuminati" know so much more than your cowled monks with their sandals and kitchen-Latin. Which is right? These rhyming prophets of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, or the old man Bernard, who conducts Dante in the "Paradiso" to the great High Light Eterne, or even some strange, unnamed, unknown monk, calling to us across seven or eight centuries of time. The world has grown wise in its own conceit, and not only scoffs in its literature at the Innominatus of cell and the cloister, but has even denied to such a man the right of surrendering himself to monastic rule. Work, work, work is the cry of the materialistic sages, as if the law of work were a newly revealed gospel, and as if the old monks had not taught: "Laborare est orare." The divine invitation to a life of contemplation, to "come apart from the world and rest a little while," must be scorned as a temptation to abuse the highest instincts and to betray the most sacred faculties of man. You must perform your duty to society by remaining in the world. You must work. In France to-day is presented a spectacle which is the carrying out to the letter of this modern philosophy of life—the expulsion from the community, as the enemies of society, of thousands of men and women who have embraced a life of self-sacrifice in the desire of serving humanity. You must work, these are told. Work, because this is the law of nature, the inexorable law of the whirling planets and of the little flowers; you must work, because you are thereby made one with nature in obeying her sacred laws. This is the new gospel of the latter day evangelists. Work, says the old monk likewise, but work for a supernatural motive, because thereby you praise God. This is the old gospel, "Laborare est orare."

The "Faust" is supposed to be a revelation of mysteries which only the initiated can read. The writer confesses that it undoubtedly does contain many secrets hidden beneath its polished verses, but it may be remarked en passant there is always (and especially for a class of excessively devoted readers, by whom indefiniteness in expression seems to be regarded as a sign of wisdom and mistiness in thought as "mysticism) a strong temptation to see beyond the vision of a writer and to conjecture deep suggestion and lofty meaning beneath apparently simple lines. Goethe himself tells us: "Then they come and ask, 'What idea I meant to embody in my "Faust?" ' as if I knew myself and could inform them. 'From heaven through the world, to hell,' would indeed be something; but this is not an idea, only a course of action. And, further, that the devil loses the wager, and that a man who continually struggles from error towards something better should be redeemed is an effective thought explaining many things; but it is not the idea which lies at the foundation

of the whole and of every individual scene. It would have been a fine thing, indeed, if I had strung so rich, varied and highly diversified a life as I have brought to view in Faust upon the slender string of one pervading idea. . . . I am rather of the opinion that the more incommensurable and the more incomprehensible to the understanding a poetic production is, so much the better it is."[10] The "Faust" contains a great deal of truth, to be sure, but it is not easy to work oneself into a ferment of delight over it. Concerning much of it one may say what Margaret says in response to Faust's talk:

> 'Tis all very fine and good. 'Tis even
> Almost what the priest doth speak,
> Only in somewhat different phrases.

The great point of merit in its philosophy is the broad view which it takes of human life in its multifold circumstances and the insistence on the necessity of making the most of life's opportunities. In the prologue to the "Faust" the Merry Andrew is made to say to the poet: "Grasp the exhaustless life that all men live." Again, it is a pleasure to be able to note that its philosophy is not so unspiritual, so earthly and does not weigh so heavily upon the spirit as that of the more materialistic productions of our own day. The "Faust," considered as a whole, is a wonderful poem, a veritable masterpiece when viewed from a purely literary standpoint; but, as Brother Azarias wrote, "The criticism that busies itself solely with the literary form is superficial; for food it gives husks." In the present article it is only the life-philosophy of the "Faust" which concerns us. It may be remarked, however, in passing that even from a purely literary point of view in the opinion of many it is for his lyrics that the world is most indebted to Goethe; for they are his real masterpieces. But the mere fact that the "Faust" is worthy of comparison with the "Divina Commedia" is evidence of its literary value. "Two works only," wrote Dr. Franz Hettinger, "can claim comparison with the 'Divina Commedia'—Homer's 'Iliad' and Goethe's 'Faust.' The nearest in matter and form, though still its inferior, is 'Faust.' It is the only German poem of universal compass which unites under the figure of Faust man's present efforts and his final end. But granted that Goethe in genius and culture was Dante's equal, both as a poet and in other respects, yet he lacked the creative power necessary to develop his idea. His ideal world is purely allegorical, and his images of it, though artistically drawn, are arbitrary and well-nigh unintelligible. Most poets clothe their ideas in allegorical forms, whose unreality is apparent throughout, and the illusion entirely fails. Dante's figures,

[10] "Conversations with Eckermann," Vol. III., 118-119.

on the contrary, have a real existence independent of their allegorical significance, and they themselves, more than their antitypes, speak to our imagination. With him we tread upon sure ground and are surrounded with realities. Goethe's world displayed in 'Faust' may be richer in ideas, more varied in form than that of Dante, but the problem of the universe, which he proposes to unriddle, is never solved. Wreck and dissolution of body and soul alike are, with Faust, the only end of this life. Dante, on the other hand, sees one eternal purpose traced and developed in all things, and man, through the Redeemer, winning his way to God."[11]

Much as we may admire the genius of Goethe, and of a host of others like him who had the public ear during the past century, we can but pity him in his groping without the fullness of the light of faith. The "Faust" tragedy, it appears to the writer, has captivated the intellectual world, not for the philosophy of life which it contains; nor for its morality, which is jejune enough; nor perhaps for its art, which is confessedly weak in many places; but for its tender tale of human love and sorrow. It appeals not so much to the reason, as does the great "Commedia," as to a sympathetic chord in the human heart which has felt the touch of the tragedy of life. The tragic end of the beautiful Margaret and the sad spectacle of Faust, grown old and blind in the search for happiness, cannot fail to elicit the sympathy of the student. The "Divina Commedia" appeals more to the spiritual nature of man; it rises above the beauty of this world's love and the grandeur of this world's passion, and shows us that the love of God is the fruit whereof all other love is but the beautiful and fleeting blossom; that the passions are yet sublimer objects of contemplation, when subdued by the will; it embodies the Christian idea of a triumphant life, outwardly perhaps all defeat, inwardly victorious, which makes us partakers of that cup of sorrow in which all are communicants with Christ.[12] The "Divinia Commedia" could never have been even *conceived* in the great mind of Goethe, for his philosophy of life could never have created such a production. It is a product of "the ages of faith." Notwithstanding its many minor defects, it has been well styled "the Summa of St. Thomas in verse;" and Goethe's view of life was on the whole very different from that of the Angelic Doctor and of his disciple, Dante Alighieri.

> O ye, who have undistempered intellects,
> Observe the doctrine that conceals itself
> Beneath the veil of those mysterious verses.
> —Inf., Can. IX., 61-63.

E. J. Byrne.

St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, N. Y.

[11] "Die Göttliche Komödie," p. 127.
[12] *Cf.* Lowell, "Essay on Dante."

IN QUARANTINE OFF THE PALESTINIAN COAST.

"WHAT time does the Russian boat for Jaffa leave Port Said?"

"Can't say, sir! Russian boats know no time and punctuality is a vice with them."

This was all we could extract from the agent in Cook's office at Cairo, and it was certainly disheartening.

"Is there no means of finding out?" we queried.

"No, sir. You can telegraph to their office and ask them to wire as soon as they know. But I must warn you, you will have to go to Beyrout first, as there is plague in Port Said, and you will have two days' quarantine. If you go by the 'messageries' you will have three days' quarantine, but will be able to sail for certain to-morrow night."

Our spirits sank to zero. An uncertain boat, probably filthy, two days' quarantine, a journey more than double what we had contemplated, fares, too, proportionately higher, quarantine to be paid for, and—worst of all—our funds at their lowest ebb.

"Oh, well, we will take the 'messageries' to-morrow," we declared.

"Ah, if you do that, sir, you will have three days' quarantine instead of two and, what is worse, you will have to go on shore at Beyrout and stay in the Turkish lazaretto. If you take the Russian boat you will only have two days' quarantine and can stay on the vessel."

"Hobson's choice," we thought. "Which is the cleaner boat?" we asked in despair.

"No choice, sir. Both equally bad."

We decided for the Russian boat and wired to the agency. After two days we learnt that it would sail at 2 P. M. on Friday.

Friday morning found us steaming out of the station at Cairo and watching the motley crowd on the platform. The train was crowded with Arabs and Egyptians, with Syrians and Jews and a fair sprinkling of Europeans. Soon we came to Benhâ, the first stop, and here most of the Arabs and Egyptians alighted. What a series of vivid contrasts such a station presents. Huddled together on the modern platform, their shrill voices drowned by the screaming of the whistles and the grinding of the brakes of the twentieth century locomotive, were groups of the children of Abraham in every variety of costume and reclining in attitudes which none but an Oriental can assume with ease and grace. What a study of color. White turbans wound round a red centre cap, white tunics fastened

with a black sash, black cloaks with large loose wide sleeves; the Arab burnoose and the Turkish jacket; some with yellow sandals, some with red; some with blue tunics, some with white; some with sashes, others without; turbans red and turbans black, turbans white and turbans yellow. How we longed for the ready brush of the artist with a vivid eye for color and effect.

And, apart from the crowd, leaning up against a pillar, sat a Bedouin woman nursing her child. Her black tunic, slightly open at the neck, gave a glimpse of a beautiful and massive gold necklace, which stood in strange contrast with her squalid appearance. From every carriage window heads were craning out and many curious eyes were gazing at her. Yet with true Oriental stoic calm she gazed back in return or rather seemed oblivious of their gaze. Her eyes seemed to see through them and beyond them, beyond the snorting engine, beyond the shoddy modern station, out into the limitless desert behind. Suddenly, however, the child cried, and immediately all the mother in her appeared. What a repulsive morsel of humanity that puny black-eyed, black-haired, swarthy infant appeared to us, but to the swarthy, practically outcast daughter of the desert it was "my own, my own, my very own." And all the while above them, on them, creeping here, there and everywhere, was a swarm of flies such as only Egypt can beget.

The train steamed out of the station and before very long we came to Zagazig. This is not far from the old mound which marks the site of Pi-Bast, or House of Bast, the goddess, in modern parlance Bubastis. What would its Pharaohs think if they could rise from their long sleep and see the modern train whirling through the fair and teeming delta which they loved so well?

We made ourselves comfortable and had just dozed off into a quiet nap when we were disturbed by a stout, florid, comfortable-looking Egyptian who strolled in and at once became a prey to the liveliest curiosity to know all about us. "Inglees?" he queried. "Yes," we grunted, and hoped he would let us sleep. But he went on. "Protestant ministers?" "No!" we said. "Ah said: 'In the Name of the Fader, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' Is dat right?" We nodded assent and he insisted on shaking hands with us as fellow-Catholics. At last he lapsed into a drowsy state and amused us by his droll grimaces as he slept uneasily in the jolting train. We dozed, too, and awoke to find that the dust had filtered in through every chink, as only Egyptian dust seems able to do, and we were covered with a fine impalpable powder, which adhered to our hair, eyebrows, eyelashes, etc., in a most irritating manner. And then at length we steamed into Port Said. What a dreary place it is! What a shoddy town! There is no other name for it—it is

of yesterday, while Cairo looks as though it was from eternity. We found our way to the inquiry office, but we pass over the nightmare consequent upon finding that we had yet two days to wait for the villainous Russian boat, two days of idle sauntering, with nothing to do except grill in the sun. At length came the welcome news that the Russian boat would sail at 2 P. M. We were determined not to miss her this time, so we deferred our much needed luncheon till we were safe on board, and we chartered a boat, for which, of course, we were iniquitously overcharged, and we boarded the long wished for Russian boat.

Ye gods, what a revelation! The filth, the accommodation, the unmentionable horrors we unearthed in the bunks, the utter absence of all things that made for cleanliness. Even now, when that Russian boat and its horrors are a thing of the past, we shudder when we recall those days—and nights.

However, when we first embarked we were hungry and we demanded luncheon. It was then 1.30. In vain we expressed the term luncheon in all the languages we could think of. The gigantic, placid, stolid Russian steward merely smiled. We had recourse to pantomime and he grasped the idea, but lunch was over long, long ago. Eleven o'clock was the proper time, and we could have nothing till seven. Entreaties, threats, blandishments, even appeals to the equally gigantic, equally stolid, fair-haired, blue-eyed captain were in vain. Fortunately we had a few biscuits, and they staved off the pangs.

With anxious eyes we scanned our quarters; with trembling hands we turned down the bedclothes and vowed that nothing would induce us to sleep in those beds. Perhaps we were spoiled by the beauty of a large liner, but we certainly felt as though the clock of civilization had been put back many, many centuries. In the first place, all the cabins opened directly into the saloon. As a result there was a perpetual aroma which can only be described as "beddy." This pervaded the saloon all day, and even the odors of the kitchen did not dispel them. In the second place, some passengers could not or would not afford the price of a berth, so they spent the night on the divans which served as benches during meals. In the early morning we took our coffee amidst recumbent and, be it said with bated breath, malodorous forms. In the third place—but we prefer to draw a veil over the third place.

Having arranged our properties and propitiated the Russian giant with backsheesh, we went up on deck, and there we found pandemonium. The deck was a squealing mass of Arabs, and all the riffraff of Port Said seemed to be fighting over the luggage and cargo. In a variety of costume, which occasionally became prac-

tically no costume at all, speaking a variety of patois, each intent, it would seem, upon making as much noise and doing as little real work as possible, they looked for all the world like a host of angry wasps round a honeycomb. All shrieked and yelled without cessation; each one seemed to be engaged in some special quarrel of his own, and each one seemed to feel that he was being wronged or that if he did not shout his loudest he certainly would be so. In the midst of the babel the stalwart, placid-looking Russian officers stalked serenely to and fro smoking cigarettes. Now and again a dispute would be brought to them for setlement. Generally they absolutely disregarded all such appeals. But on one disputant insisting on his cause being heard he was with appalling despatch dropped overboard into the lighter. Here he lay on the thwarts and gave vent to appalling objurgations and the most venemous threats.

A sudden ejaculation of "Well, Fader," on my left caused me to turn round and discover my Egyptian friend who had bored me on the way from Cairo. But what a transformation! He had discarded the European hether garments which never had seemed to fit him, and he now appeared in true Oriental skirts and red slippers. Hitherto he had walked like a European, but with the advent of the skirts had come the Eastern sideling roll. What an incongruous object he looked. His lower man was Oriental enough, but his upper man, decked with billycock hat and a short coat, looked worthy of 'appy 'Amstead. Yet perhaps the most amusing thing was his face. He looked as though he felt himself between two stools, for Oriental gravity and imperturbability conflicted with the bold free stare which the coat and hat seemed to call for.

At last all the cargo was aboard and the last quarrelsome Arab had left. Slowly we steamed past the huge liners, along by the famous statue of Lesseps and out into the Mediterranean. Soon the land faded from view, and then darkness set in.

The poorness of the accommodation had made us tremble for our meals, but here we were agreeably surprised. It was weird, but good, and being Russian was, of course, plentiful. Russian claret and the inevitable vodkha were supplied and the most generous ices we ever saw.

After dinner we went up on deck, but the wind was chilly and the lightning shocking, so that reading was out of the question. It was impossible to sleep in the bunks, so we essayed the divans in the apology for a smoking room. We had asked permission for this and it had been readily accorded, but to our huge disgust our first sleep was rudely broken into by a burly Russian, who ejected us angrily and forcibly. We huddled ourselves up in blankets on deck and slept soundly. About three o'clock I awoke and prowled round. It

was a curious scene. The moon rode high in the heavens and showed the Arabs lying in all sorts of quaint attitudes under the open sky. It was cold and they shivered as they slept. One poor mother had her three children tucked close to her, but they were fretful in their dreams and she was wakeful. Where were they going to? It was one of the puzzles of that and other journeys in the East to explain the crowds of poor squalid natives who thronged the trains and boarded every passenger boat. And yet no inducement is held out to them to travel. Fares are by no means light. Passports are not so easy to obtain and have to be paid for. There are doctors to face and questions to be answered. Yet all the same they wander to and fro, picturesque but squalid.

As the dawn came the various disheveled heaps struggled to light and each family began to make preparations for breakfast. I watched one old lady with great interest. She looked for all the world as though she had walked out of some typical picture of the East as she hustled about her work. She brought various commodities from some seemingly bottomless receptacle which was secreted somewhere about her person. In the dim light I could not distinguish the various items of their repast, but stepping a little closer I discovered to my dismay that they were breakfasting off a tin of Nestlé's milk and a bottle of booril.

Gradually the mists cleared off and then on our right rose the hump of Mount Carmel. It was our first glimpse of the Holy Land, and we gazed at it with deepest interest. The brook Kishon, the chariots of Sisara, the prophets of Baal, the towering figure of Elias, the cloud no bigger than a man's hand, the race for Jezreel—all flashed across our minds. How often we had read of Carmel and the Bay of Acre, and now we were actually gazing at them.

At six tea, with a slice of lemon in it, was brought us in glasses. It was welcome even if somewhat peculiar. The sun grew hotter and there was no awning, but we reveled in the heat after the chilly night. As the day grew clearer we could distinguish portions of the Nazareth hills and guessed we must be looking at Safed. Beyond them dim blue rounded cones indicated the hills of the Jaulan, beyond Jordan. To our sorrow we could not distinguish Tyre or Sidon, for a mist slightly veiled the coast. But then Hermon began to stand out in all its grandeur. How it dominates the land. How white and glistening it looks. How natural seem the frequent references to it in Biblical literature.

Round the promontory ahead of us lies Beyrout and up above it towers Tebel Sannin. The mountain is rugged and scarped and looks as though its face had been scarred with a gigantic plough. Presently we turn the corner, and there lies Beyrout smiling in the

sunshine. The mountain rises like a rugged wall behind it and in front glimmers the marvelously blue sea. The town looks most picturesque. The white houses with their red tiled roofs seemed to be smiling in the sun. The tall black cypresses threw the houses into sharp relief and formed a setting for the gardens. The town lay in a semi-circle and straggled somewhat irregularly around the bay. The houses lay in tiers gradually mounting the steep slopes of Sannin, while up above on its mighty flanks tiny white specks denoted the houses of the rich, who had their chalets away up far from the hum of the city below.

How modern the town looks. How fresh and bright the whole scene. As we gaze at it from the boat it is hard to believe that the Assyrians took it again and again; that in this very roadstead lay the ships which were to take them over to Cypress. And yet long before Tiglath Pileser and Sennacherib set foot here the Egyptians knew it well. That curious work entitled "Travels of a Mohar,"[1] which gives an almost ludicrously gloomy account of the perils encountered by travelers in these parts, says: "Be good enough to look out for Beyrout, Sidon and Sarepta." This was in the days of Ramesis II. and before 1200 B. C., yet even earlier still we find Rib-Rameses II. and before 1200 B. C., yet even earlier still we find Rib-Addi, the correspondent of Amenophis IV. (1450 B. C.), mentioning Beyrout as one of his chief cities.

Now all is changed. Churches are there and colleges, notably the large Jesuit college, while at noon the chimes of the "Angelus" float out over the water.

We idle away the time as we best can, but there is no society and no library. One of the officers provides us with a fishing line, and we proceed to fish. The moment we have found amusement everybody wants to share it. A very unwieldy Spaniard is particularly keen and quite thinks the fishing tackle is his. We let him have his way, and as he catches nothing he soon tires of it. We are equally unfortunate, and as a little fat Turkish boy in a fez has been making mute appeals to be allowed to fish, we put the line in his hand and he promptly secures the only fish caught that day. It was a small perchlike fish, beautifully irridescent. The ship's cat soon despatched it.

In the evening an official came off in a small boat and immediately all the third-class passengers were told to prepare to spend the next twenty-four hours in the Turkish lazaretto. Certainly if any of the passengers needed inspection it was these poor outcasts. Mostly poor Syrians and Arabs, they meekly made up their bundles and went over the side into large boats waiting for them. How silent and sad-eyed they all seemed. They seemed to feel that they were

[1] Records of the Bast., II., 110.

outcasts and that every man's hand was against them. And what a farce the whole proceeding was. The lazaretto is commonly said to be the receptacle for more germs than the rest of Beyrout. Certainly it was infected with some very lively germs indeed, and all these were presumably to be brought back onto the ship by the third-class passengers. Such is Turkish government, or misgovernment. Indeed, the whole question of the quarantine was a farce. A priest assured the writer that he knew personally the reported cases of plague in Port Said, and he knew that not one of them was genuine. But quarantine means money to the Turk, hence let there be plague. All these poor third-class passengers had to pay for their accommodations (?) in the lazaretto, and we on the following day had each to pay half a crown to a Turkish doctor to be told that we had not the plague.

At last our time of durance vile drew to a close. Early in the morning a number of gaily painted boats put off from the shore bringing oranges and lemons, of which we took nearly three thousand cases on board. The fruit was of a peculiarly bright green and reminded me most of an emu's egg when fresh laid. About midday we steamed out of the bay and ran down the coast to Sidon, a distance of about twenty miles. The coast looked exceedingly pretty. The beach seemed to be very narrow, and above it the tiny, glistening villages were perched on the slopes. With the sea in front and the wall of mountain behind them, we could appreciate the statement of the Bible that the Sidonians "dwelt secure and easy."[2] We reached Sidon itself about half-past three in the afternoon. The coast as we approached was thickly covered with groves of oranges, lemons, olives and apricots, and along the beach we could discern a string of camels and horses filing into the town. The houses were lofty and very bright looking in the sunlight. Behind rose the hills, which looked as though covered with endless tiers of terraces, though we were informed that these were really long, narrow fields.

The harbor is remarkable. On the western or sea side it is protected by a long, low-lying island and is only open to the north. Close down upon the water's edge stands a dismantled castle rapidly falling to ruins. A dozen boats speedily put out, and some highly respectable looking Turkish passengers came on board and were greeted by loud cries of "Quarantina!" Another huge cargo of oranges and lemons was taken on board, and the unloading of the small boats was worth witnessing.

Nearly all the boatmen of Beyrout and Sidon are Syrians and finely proportioned men. They are generally girt with a bright pink sash, which keeps their tunics within bounds. The cargo boats are

[2] Judges xviii., 7.

small and very deeply laden. Every moment we expected they would founder, as the sea was by no means calm. The men swarmed on board. They scorned the ladder and used their bare feet with great dexterity, seeming to almost walk up the sides of the vessel. They indulged in the most fiendish shrieks meanwhile, which quite justified the remark of a German lady who murmured to me: "They are like the day-vils!"

Several cases of oranges had fallen into the sea and were now being rapidly carried away by the tide. One of the Syrians, however, threw off his tunic and swam after them. He had no easy task. The water was choppy, the tide strong and the cases very unwieldy. It was interesting to watch him steering the six bulky cases with his feet and hands, but it took him over an hour to work them back against the tide and wind.

We took on a few passengers here. One, in the third class, was the most extraordinary looking object. He was old, his hair and hugely long beard were a dirty white; he wore sandals, a tunic of a nondescript hue, a hugely long and very rusty and greasy old frock coat; he sported cuffs which had been white in prehistoric times, and the whole get-up was surmounted by a battered old billycock hat. An unwieldy Jewish lady of most pronounced Semitic type also came on deck. She smoked endless cigarettes and as far as we could see never spoke a word. There was also a taciturn young Egyptian lad on his way to school at Jaffa.

The sun was setting as we slowly turned out of the harbor. As it sank into the Mediterranean the rays shot upwards and spread out like some huge pale golden fan, the sea took on a mauve tint which rapidly passed into dull gray, while the sky passed from every shade of yellow to opal, then gray, until finally black night set in.

Early in the morning we awoke to find ourselves off Athlêt, the site of the Biblical Dor, then Cæsarea and then Jaffa. We tried hard to make out the rounded, shapeless mass of Mount Garizim, but it was difficult either to distinguish it or Mount Ebal.

Jaffa fully realized our expectations—the rugged bit of rock with the houses climbing up in tiers, the dark, cruel looking reefs which form the harbor bar and which, while they make entrance and exit difficult, are no protection to the quays. On either side of the rock lay the bright golden sand, and in the background the orange groves, which have made the place so famous in modern times.

Here, of course, we encountered Babel in form of a score of stalwart, shouting, screaming Arabs, who each yelled out the name of the hotel he served. Cook's even were there in their brilliant scarlet jerseys with the soul-satisfying legend "Cook" writ large across the breast. We had one of their landing tickets, so possessed

our souls in patience while one of their men collected our traps. Woe betide the unfortunate passenger who betrays any sign of not being perfectly well able to take care of himself. The eagle eye of the Arab spies him or her out, stentorian shouts of rival hotel touts din in his ears, sturdy arms seize the baggage, and the poor, bewildered traveler has all he can do to avoid being torn in two.

Cook charges five shillings to land you at Jaffa. You think it rather exorbitant even for the East, but when you find yourself in the train for Jerusalem and look back on the melée through which you have passed you feel you would not now think ten shillings an excessive charge. Your luggage is looked after, your passport vised, the Customs House officers are won over somehow, so that you need not trouble to open your baggage, and a carriage is provided to take you to your hotel and thence to the station in time for any train. And, above all, you are saved all worry when gesticulating, ferocious looking touts threaten to swamp you and your effects, you have only to utter the magic word "Cook" and you are left in peace. To the native "Cook" spells imperialism. It is recorded that when the German Emperor made his tour in Palestine a few years ago old Thomas Cook personally conducted the tour. When the royal party came to Jericho no one paid the least attention to the Emperor, but all vied with one another in doing homage to Mr. Cook. "There he is!" they shouted, and all crushed round him as he rode at the head of the cavalcade.

Hugh Pope, O. P.

England.

Book Reviews

KETTELER. Par *G. Goyau*, 1908. Pp. xlviii.+290.
SAINT ATHANASE. Par *F. Cavallera*, 1908. Pp. xvi.+352. Paris: Bloud et Cie.

These two volumes are the latest additions to the series of "texts and studies" emanating under the general title "Christian Thought," from the well-known up-to-date publishing house of Bloud et Cie, Paris. In conformance with the leading idea of the series, the books here presented deal with their respective subjects not so much from a biographical as from a literary and a practical standpoint. While, therefore, M. Goyau has prefaced his work with a comparatively brief, though sufficiently comprehensive as well as interesting biography of Bishop Ketteler, the substance of his book consists of extracts from the writings and discourses of the illustrious Archbishop—typical thoughts arranged under suggestive headings. On the other hand, M. Cavallera has furnished only a chronological table of the life of St. Athanasius, the main purpose of his study being to illustrate the teaching, theological and practical, of the great Alexandrian patriarch by characteristic portions of his writings. The subject of each volume is representative of the age in which he lived—St. Athanasius of the fourth and Ketteler of the nineteenth century. The limited space of the present review will be confined to the latter. Concerning the former, suffice it to say that M. Cavallera has happily succeeded in selecting those portions of St. Athanasius' writings which best illustrate the teachings of which that great doctor is acknowledged to have been the most powerful champion, those, namely, which concern the Trinity and the Incarnation. The volume also contains apt illustrations of the exegesis, ascetical and pastoral theology of St. Athanasius.

When Archbishop Ketteler died in 1877 (he was born in 1811) the German Central party and the Catholics of Germany possessed, thanks to him, a social doctrine and a social programme. Windthorst in his preface to the fourth edition (1890) of Ketteler's book on the labor question is quoted by M. Goyau to the following effect: "In Bishop Ketteler we all revere the teacher and the champion of the advance guard of Catholic social aspirations. To-day, when those aspirations have been solemnly recognized and when all parties would vaunt themselves on having been the first to protect and promote the economic and rural interests of the working class, it becomes for us a duty of piety to bring to light the present work,

which marks out for the young generation the ways to social betterment. It is for us an enduring glory that a prince of the Catholic Church is the first to have the courage, at a time when the Manchesterian economics has completely mastered public opinion, to plant the flag of a Christian social reform by estimating with equity what there is of truth in the criticism of Lassalle on the present state of things and against current ideas; and at the same time by signalizing with no less justice what there is of error and weakness in Lassalle's positive theories." The great leader of the German Centre goes on in the preface from which the foregoing extract has been taken to emphasize the equity, the sanity, the timeliness of Ketteler's teaching on social reform; and what Windthorst had thus signalized Fr. Hitze, the leading sociologist of the Central party, reconfirmed as regards Ketteler's social programme in the Reichstag in 1893. The soundness of Ketteler's social teachings was due to their rootage in the *philosophia perennis* of St. Thomas and to their touch with the beneficent institutions of the Christian past, while the value of his programme of social reform and betterment was due to the fact that that programme was constructed to meet the concrete social and economic conditions, especially of the laboring poor—conditions that were known by none more intimately as they were felt by none more sympathetically than by the alert-minded and large-hearted Bishop of Mayence.

The merit of M. Goyau's present work consists in this—that besides its valuable sketch of Ketteler's career, it brings together within convenient shape and compass those portions of the illustrious Bishop's writings which best illustrate the social doctrine and programme just alluded to. The material selected has been arranged under five headings: 1. "The Church and the New Times." 2. "The Church and the Various Forms of Absolutism." 3. "The Church and the Problem of Property." 4. "The Church and the Labor Question." 5. "Social Politics." The subjects thus indicated are obviously of most vital moment, not less, but more so in this day than they were a generation ago. Nor less apposite are the solutions of the problem here suggested; nor less pertinent the ways of practical wisdom laid down by Bishop Ketteler and systematically arranged by M. Goyau in the book at hand than were those same solutions and prudential measures when the storm and stress of the earlier socialistic revolution and the subsequent imperial *Culturkampf* brought them to life in the mind and work of the great German prelate. Not alone students of sociology, but cultured readers generally who feel the interest they should feel in the present social problems will be indebted to M. Goyau for the light and stimulus which he has here reflected from the soul of Ketteler.

LUTHER ET LE LUTHERANISME. Par *L. Cristiani, D. D.* Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1908. Pp. xxvi.+387.

If Dr. Cristiani had done nothing else in the work here introduced than make more accessible to a larger reading public the erudite study by the late Dominican scholar, Fr. Denifle, he would have done the cause of truth a valuable service. But while doing this he has done more. While popularizing the principal conclusions embodied in "Luther und Lutherthum," and in the wake of this definitive classic and the hardly less authoritative productions of Döllinger and Janssen exposing many of the errors and insidious attacks against the Church, he furnishes in a convenient form a most effective apologetical instrument. His work, while historical in matter, is psychological in method, and it wields both history and analysis of cause and motive in the defense of Catholic truth. In designating its motif as apologetical, however, it need hardly be said that the latter qualification implies no attempt to excuse or palliate the abuses against which Protestantism was set up as a reaction. The first duty of the apologist, as the author rightly conceives it, is to tell the truth, mindful of the query which Job made of old, *"Numquid Deus indigit mendacio vestro?"* (Job xiii., 7), to which Leo XIII. gave the categorical answer: "The Church has no need of our lies." The author's policy is patent throughout—to let the facts, the documents speak for themselves, and to draw no inferences save what these compel. He places himself at the parting of the ways. For the Protestant Luther is a reformer; he found the Church more or less corrupt, and he led it back to its original purity. For the Rationalist Luther is an initiator; he opened up a new way for free thought and unfettered research. For the Catholic Luther is an apostate; he took occasion from certain real abuses within the Church to raise the standard of revolt; he apostatized, became a schismatic and a heretic, and so far from correcting the abuses from which the Church was suffering, he fell into and brought on far greater evils. Now how are these antinomies to be solved? Obviously by studying the character of the man during the different stages of his career in order to find whether he truly possessed the marks of a religious reformer; by examining his doctrine at the start and at the finish; finally, by estimating the moral consequences of his life and his teaching. These are the lines on which the present inquiry is conducted. The precursal signs of the Reformation—moral corruption and humanism, at once an effect and a cause of immorality—are indicated; the genesis of Luther's teaching is examined; the variations in his teaching on the merit of good works are pointed out. The violent fury and indecency of Luther's language is not unnoticed, both being psychologically, or, perhaps

better, pathologically significant. The question of Luther's sincerity is dispassionately investigated. His well-known avowed communications with the demon are critically examined. A chapter is devoted to his teaching on marriage and virginity; another chapter to his theories on Church and State; another to his "miracles." The closing, a highly important and interesting chapter, discusses the consequences of Luther's lifework. It need hardly be said that the result of the total inquiry proves that Luther as he is now unmistakably revealed under the light of impersonal criticism possessed none of the signs of an apostle. He was surely not a man of prayer, nor was he always sincere. He was throughout life dominated by passion, carried forward by the impulses of uncontrolled, ruleless temperament. He was undoubtedly richly endowed; he was popularly and powerfully eloquent; he was able to move and lead the masses, and by the vigor of his language to win to his cause even superior minds. But his memory can never be washed of the grossness, the lies, the atrocious calumnies and infamous injustices of which he made an habitual weapon against "papismus." It may be conceded to the Rationalists that Luther was an "initiator;" but it must be recognized that if he opened out a new way, that way led to evil; so that had not a reaction against his system arose within Protestantism itself, the consequences for posterity had been frightful, the moral corruption and degradation entailed irreparable. Such in part are the conclusions borne out by the present study; for the evidence on which they rest we must refer the reader to the author, confident that he will not go away unsatisfied or disappointed. The book is one which the serious student either of modern religious history or of apologetics cannot afford to leave unread.

A MANUAL OF MORAL THEOLOGY. For English-speaking countries. By *Rev. Thomas Slater, S. J.*, St. Beuno's College, St. Asaph. With notes on American legislation by Rev. Michael Martin, S. J., professor of moral theology, St. Louis University. Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 668. New York: Benziger Brothers.

We have before us the first attempt at a complete Catholic moral theology in English. Heretofore our moral theologies have been published in Latin, but now we are beginning to follow the example of the French, Italians, Spaniards and others and publish them in the vernacular.

The author expects confidently that ecclesiastical students and Catholic clergy of English-speaking countries will welcome the book, and that it will do good even among non-Catholics. He thinks that Catholic moral theology is misrepresented and maligned because it

is not understood. He hopes that it will be appreciated by persons outside of the Church when they understand it, and that it will become known in its English dress.

The writer of this notice has always opposed the publication of works on moral theology in the vernacular, and he has not changed his mind about it. On the contrary, his conviction is firmer after reading the author's preface. He says: "Manuals of moral theology are technical works intended to help the confessor and the parish priest in the discharge of their duties. They are as technical as the text-books of the lawyer and the doctor. They are not intended for edification, nor do they hold up a high ideal of Christian perfection for the imitation of the faithful. They deal with what is of obligation under pain of sin; they are books of moral pathology."

Therefore they are intended for the eye of the priest principally, and we are tempted to say for his eye only. We believe that the people should get their moral theology from the priest, and the best way to compel them to do so is to confine works on the subject to the Latin language. Even when they are published in the vernacular, certain portions are printed in Latin because the delicacy of the subject requires it. Another argument in favor of the use of the ancient language is the preservation of it and the preservation of unity of teaching. We are letting the Latin go more and more every day, and there is real danger of letting it go altogether. By removing the necessity for knowing it we remove the strongest incentive to the study of it. The time may come when each country will have its own text-books in its own language, and this will certainly not make for unity. Much more might be said on the subject, but it is our duty to close this notice with the declaration that the book before us is admirably made. The usual divisions and subdivisions are followed, but the text is very clear and very satisfying.

TRAITE DE SOCIOLOGIE D'APRES LES PRINCIPES DE LA THEOLOGIE CATHOLIQUE. Régime de la Propriété. Par *L. Garriguet.* Second edition. Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1908.

The present volume belongs to the series of "Studies in Ethics and Sociology," running parallel with the series "Christian Thought"—which latter includes M. Goyau's "Ketteler"—now appearing in France. There are still to be found writers on economics who have not yet given up the idea, notwithstanding the discipline of failure, that economical and social problems should be disconnected from ethics; that they belong exclusively to the domain of science and are to be solved without appeal to religious or even to

moral principles. The error and perniciousness of a non-moral—not to say immoral—economic are too patent to need demonstration, for surely the theory of wealth-production must be rooted in man's living personality, which is nothing if not essentially moral and religious. So that economics, and especially sociology, can no more be divorced from ethics than can grammar from living language, anatomy from physiology, physiology from psychology. There can, of course, and must be a mental precision between these various disciplines; but each becomes a lifeless abstraction, an artificial mental mechanism when actually separated from its partner or rather from its parent stem; for economics is to ethics what branch is to trunk, while sociology is rather itself but a ramification of ethics. Now Catholic moral theology possesses a system of social science treating of the right and wrong guidance of life, external as well as internal; of law positive as well as revealed; of juridic relations social and public as well as private and individual. It is well that this body of moral doctrine should be set forth in its relation to present economical and social problems. This is precisely what M. Garriguet has undertaken to do in the volume at hand. He rightly deems it that the said problems gather around the two great subjects, property and labor, and these *foci* furnish him the division of his undertaking. The present book is confined to the first member; a future study will be given to the second. The lines of treatment are broadly as follows: After the usual preliminary distinctions and definitions the ethics of private property in land and in capital are discussed, the origin of the right of proprietorship established, the limits of the right determined, the modes of acquisition described, the essential characteristics of the right, its limits and the ethical obligations it entails demonstrated. So far as the substance of the matter thus outlined is concerned the book can hardly be said to contain much that is not to be found in other preëxisting works of the kind. The author has not sought to discover nor to describe a new world or a new section of an old. He has endeavored to familiarize the student with the moral world wherein he is ever living, to make him aware of the unnoticed truths and the unobserved details, to make him conscious of the bearings of Catholic teaching upon current questions, theories and issues. In this he has succeeded both as to fact and argument, criticism and method and style. The student need leave the reading of the book with no hazy notions or principles, nor will he be overtaxed in the quest, for the author shares richly in the characteristic gift of his countrymen—that of clarity and felicity of expression. We trust soon to see the second part of the work—that on Labor—which promises, if not more fundamental, at least no less important problems for discussion.

THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA. An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline and History of the Catholic Church. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann, Ph. D., LL. D., Edward A. Pace, Ph. D., D. D., Conde B. Pallen, Ph. D., LL. D., Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., John J. Wynne, S. J., assisted by numerous collaborators. In fifteen volumes. Vol. III. New York: Robert Appleton Company.

These advance sheets of the third volume bring with them the welcome assurance that the finished volume will appear very soon, and the promise that the fourth volume will be ready before the close of the year. Indeed, the editors have been so very prompt that the small number of persons who predicted that the book would never be completed or would require many years for completion is now succeeded by a small number who declare that the work is being done too hastily, and that it must therefore be more imperfect.

We presume that all such doubts and fears and predictions are incidental to an undertaking of this kind. They all do. They spur the editors on if they are inclined to lag, and they put a check on them if they show an inclination to take the bit in their teeth. They also point out various evils to be avoided and virtues to be sought for. It is quite clear that they are helping the editors of the Encyclopedia very much, for these gentlemen are devoting their best talents to the work before them with all the energy at their command, and they are producing a book unexcelled of its kind just as promptly as splendid equipment and tireless labor can do it; not a bit too soon, and not a bit too late.

It would be high praise to say that the original standard is being preserved, and it might seem like blame of previous efforts to state that improvement is here, and yet the simple truth is that the work improves as the experience of the editors grows. They know their assistants better, they are drawing new ones to their service, they are better equipped to weigh subjects and space them according to their relative merits, they are enlightened by fair, discerning criticism, they are strengthened by judicious praise and they are sustained by generous financial support. The last item is by no means the least important, because no work can be done well unless the workmen have the necessary means at hand. We are assured by the managers of the Encyclopedia that the time for anxiety on this score is past, and that with the amount already received from stockholders and subscribers, and the amount assured from the subscriptions now being received, the financial success of the enterprise is beyond question.

We wish that we had room to reprint from the *Messenger* an account of the making of the Encyclopedia. It does not contain anything positively new, but it sets before us in detail each step in a progress which means ultimate and lasting success, and it makes assurance doubly sure that not one element is lacking.

THE INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC LIBRARY. The Catholic Church, the Renaissance and Protestantism. Lectures given at the Catholic Institute of Paris, January to March, 1904. By Alfred Baudrillart, rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris. With a prefatory letter from His Eminence Cardinal Perraud, of the French Academy. Authorized translation by Mrs. Philip Gibbs. 8vo., pp. xxvii.+331. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Cardinal Perraud, himself an acknowledged authority on the subject, says of these lectures that the author has summarized in them the problems of philosophy, theology, morals, and even of social economy, involved in the study of Protestantism. He adds that they justify the exalted and almost prophetic views of the immortal author of "The History of the Variations," and that Bossuet himself would have read them with pleasure, because they thoroughly bear him out in his showing "how the general foundation laid by the Reformation—namely, contempt for the authority of the Church, the denial of the apostolic succession, the indictment of the preceding centuries and even the contempt of the Fathers, the bursting of every barrier and the complete abandonment of human curiosity to its own devices—must inevitably produce what we have seen—namely, unbridled license in all religious matters."

The equipment of the author for this work was exceptional. In the preface he says: "I beg now to offer to the public the result of much reading, research and reflection on the subject of those questions which I began to study long ago. It first came in my mind to examine them closely at the Normal School twenty-four years ago."

Fifteen years later he was entrusted with the teaching of ecclesiastical history at the Catholic Institute of Paris, when he profited by the course of lectures which Cardinal Perraud gave at the Sorbonne from 1866 to 1874. During ten years the author taught thrice the history of the Renaissance and the Reformation. During that time he read and studied everything which might cast light on the subject. With such a theme and such equipment the author has produced a fascinating and informing book. A worthy companion of those that have gone before in this series, and by no means the least important.

A DICTIONARY OF CHRIST AND THE GOSPELS. Edited by James Hastings, D. D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, D. D., and John C. Lambert, D. D. In two volumes, large 8vo. Vol. II. Labour—Zion, with appendixes and indexes. Pp. 912. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Our readers will remember that this book is by the author of the Bible Dictionary brought out by the same publishers recently, and that it was first announced while that work was in course of publication. Indeed, it was the result of experience gained in the preparation of the Dictionary which clearly showed that it would be impos-

sible to do justice to our Divine Lord within the limitations of that work, and that a supplemental book would be necessary. Two volumes were required for the purpose, as large as the volumes of the Dictionary, and like them in material make up, so that the six volumes form a complete whole, although there is no essential connection between the two works. We are glad to be able to say that the later book comes up to the high standard of the earlier.

The editors humbly, and sincerely we believe, acknowledge that the task of producing a Dictionary really worthy of its subject has been beyond them. Such a profession goes far towards disarming criticism. There is, however, every evidence that Dr. Hastings has used his best endeavors to muster on his editorial staff the best writers in their respective fields. The result of their labors is admirable. Our readers will understand, of course, that this is a Protestant book, written by Protestant men, who see things from a Protestant point of view. In some instances Catholic writers are quoted and Catholic doctrine is referred to, but the quotations are not full nor frequent.

MISSALE ROMANUM. Editio IX. Post Alteram Typicam. 12mo. 1908. Neo Eboraci: Fredericus Pustet.

The first sight of this book prompts the question, can it be complete and acceptable as to type and paper? It is so small, so convenient, so inviting in outward form, with its flexible morocco binding and gilt edges, that one is inclined to fear that its beauty and utility are exterior only. But one glance at the inside dispels this fear. It is complete in every detail. All the Masses up to date; the music for all occasions; the pictures before the principal feasts, and the head pieces before the liturgical seasons, for which these missals are noted; the clear cut type, which gives the impression of an engraved page; the ornamental initial letters; the true coloring of the inks; the softly tinted paper which is so soothing to the eyes, and yet resists all back impression. This combination produces a book that cannot be excelled.

LIFE OF PIUS X. By *Mgr. E. Canon Schmitz.* 8vo., pp. 443. Illustrated. New York: American Catholic Publication Society, 32 Union Square, East.

Involuntarily one exclaims when he first sees this book: "How beautiful!" The rich purple binding, the artistic ecclesiastical tooling, the bronze Papal medal sunken into the centre of the front cover, the heavy gilding of the edges—all combine to impress one

with the thought that the makers of the book understood the importance and dignity of their subject. The outside invites one to enter, nor is he disappointed who accepts the invitation. The interior excellence is in keeping with the exterior, and together they form an artistic unity. The paper is sumptuous, the type impressions would almost deceive the engraver, while the illustrations would entice an artist. And such an abundance of pictures! Carrying the beholder through all the stages of the life of the good Pontiff who now occupies the Papal throne.

The history is very interesting, reaching back as it does into the previous Pontificate and coming down to almost the present volume. It is well to remember also that we have before us connected, full, true history, and not a few facts lost amidst a mass of gossip and romance. The book is valuable as history and as a work of art. It will give pleasure permanently, and will be continuously useful.

MANY MANSIONS. Being Studies in Ancient Religions and Modern Thought. By *William Samuel Lilly*, Honorary Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. 8vo., pp. 270. London: Chapman & Hall; New York: Benziger Brothers.
net.

Everything from the pen of Mr. Lilly is interesting and instructive, and the thoughtful part of the reading public is glad to see his good things reproduced in new or modified form and made permanently accessible. In regard to this charming book of essays he says:

"In 1884 the author published a book called 'Ancient Religion and Modern Thought,' which was received with a favor very gratifying to him, and which went through several editions. It has long been out of print, and for several reasons he has not thought well to reissue it in its original form. Portions of it have found place in other of his works, and it has supplied the materials for the 'Essays on the Saints of Islam and Modern Pessimism' in the present volume, which is an attempt to deal, in what the author ventures to think a less inadequate manner, with some of the topics discussed in the former one."

The book appears in very inviting form, being light in weight, convenient in size, from large, clear type on soft, tinted paper.

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